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OF

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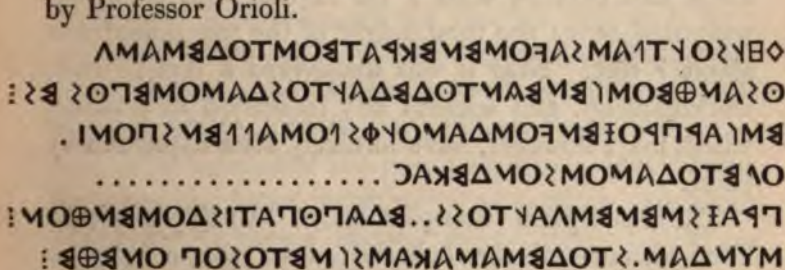
ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.

I.—ON A GREEK INSCRIPTION LATELY FOUND IN THE ISLAND OF CORFU.

BY W. MARTIN LEAKE, ESQ., V.P.

(Read Dec. 14, 1843.)

THE following inscription was discovered in the month of October last, on a monument brought to light at Kastrádhes, a suburb of the city of Corfú, in a process of excavation ordered by the Government; and a lithograph copy of it was soon afterwards published in the 'Ionian Gazette,' with some observations on it by Professor Orioli.



◇[1] *Υἱοῦ Τλασίαϝο*[2] *Μενεκράτεος τόδε σᾶμα*

[1] ◇ is probably a symbol, equivalent to the *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ* of later times. This sign, or something of the same kind, is found occasionally in Greek inscriptions of every age. In Christian times, and even earlier, it was generally a cross +.

[2] The Digamma lengthens the short A in this line, and the short E in the third line.

Οἰανθέος[3] *γενεάν· τόδε δ' αὐτῷ δᾶμος ἐποίει·*
Ἦς[4] *γὰρ πρόξενFος δάμου φίλος, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ*
Ὤλετο·[5] *δαμόσιον δὲ καθ . . . . . .*
Πραξιμένης δ' αὐτῷ ἰ(θὺ) ἠδ' ἀπὸ πατρίδος ἐνθών,
Σὺν δάμῳ τόδε σᾶμα κασιγνήτοιο πονήθη.

This is the tomb of Menecrates, son of Tlasias of Œantheia. The people (of Corcyra) made it for him: for he was a proxenus and a friend of the people. But he perished in the sea, and . . . . . Praximenes, coming to him directly from his native-place, raised this monument in conjunction with the people.

The place where this monument was found appears to have served, during a long succession of ages, for sepulchral purposes: near the upper surface was found a stratum of broken pottery, below which was a succession, at five different depths, of ancient tombs, composed of pottery or of slabs of stone in the simplest Greek manner. On the lowest level except one, which is on a level with the sea itself, was found the inscribed monument, a plain cylindrical sarcophagus, or receptacle, 14½ feet in diameter, standing upon two steps, and covered with a lid in the form of a low truncated cone: the total height of the monument was about 7 feet. Near it was discovered a lion of rude workmanship, and without any indication of a mane, which may, however, have formerly been expressed by paint.

The inscription occupies about two-thirds of the circumference of the cylinder under the cornice or projection formed by the termination of the lid, and is in a single line, readable from right to left, which,

[3] Œantheia, now Galaxídhi, has always been the most commercial place on the northern side of the Corinthian gulf, and hence may be supposed to have had much communication by sea with Corcyra.

[4] *Ἦς* Dor. for *ἦν*.

[5] Menecrates was probably drowned not far from Corcyra.

when examined, is found to consist of six hexameter verses. Of these the first four fill up the semicircle which formed the front of the monument, leaving the fifth and sixth to occupy a portion of the back. Hence it is not unlikely that these latter were a posterior adjunction to the four preceding lines, and that Praximenes, on hearing of his brother's death, came to Corcyra from Œantheia, and made some addition to the monument which had already been erected by the people of Corcyra.

The most curious part of this inscription is the form of some of the characters, namely, ⊟ the spiritus asper, ≷ Iota, ⟩ Gamma, ∧ Lambda, M Sigma, ∃ Epsilon; but all these are found in inscriptions of the parent city Corinth, or of the Doric cities, Crissa, Argos, and Melos, in one of Corcyra itself, in another of a Doric city of Magna Græcia,[7] or on coins of some of the Doric colonies of that country. The reading from right to left in a single line of so great a length may be considered a proof that this inscription is more ancient than all those just alluded to, except perhaps that of Crissa; which is in the earlier Boustrophedon, or that beginning from the right. The occurrence of **ΥΙΟΥ, ΔΑΜΟΥ** instead of **ΥΙΟ, ΔΑΜΟ**, the ordinary form of the genitive at Athens until the year 403 B.C., is remarkable, but may be found in other very ancient documents belonging to places distant from Attica. Still less can the mixture of the Ionic and Doric dialects in a metrical epitaph justify any doubts as to the genuine antiquity of this inscription, which concurs with the style of the monument, and the circumstances of its discovery in showing, that it can scarcely be later than the beginning of the sixth century B. C.

[7] See Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 20.

II.—ON SOME GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM DELPHI.

COMMUNICATED IN A LETTER

FROM SIR GARDNER WILKINSON TO W. R. HAMILTON, ESQ.

BY W. MARTIN LEAKE, ESQ., V.P.

(Read January 25, 1844.)

The inscriptions from Delphi contained in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's letter to Mr. Hamilton may have been copied by other travellers, but they are unknown in England, with one exception; nor is any one of them, the same inscription excepted, to be found in Boeckh's 'Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.' I have subjoined, therefore, to Sir Gardner's transcripts, copies in cursive characters, with restorations. Further explanation seems unnecessary, as I have already published, in 'Travels in Northern Greece,' ii. p. 635, ten inscriptions from the walls of the ἱερὸν of Apollo at Delphi, of the same tenor and form of expression, as well as some observations on them in p. 558 of the same volume. Sir Gardner must have had no small difficulty in making these transcripts, as the originals were engraved on the faces of the substructions and avenues of the temple, on a kind of stone much less hard and homogeneous than those marbles which have preserved so many Greek inscriptions from the injuries of twenty centuries. Scarcely any of the inscriptions on the walls of Delphi could have been deciphered, had they not been very numerous, and worded according to cer-

tain legal or traditional forms, and thus differing from one another so little, that the deficiencies of one inscription may generally be supplied by means of the better preservation of another. These records, as far as they are yet known, are confined to two subjects: 1. Privileges granted to foreigners by the Amphictyons and the city of Delphi. 2. The liberation of slaves. The inscriptions hitherto published are chiefly of the second and third centuries before the Christian æra, as appears—first, by the form of the characters; secondly, by the partial employment of the Doric dialect, which is here beginning to fade into common Hellenic; and thirdly, by the power of Ætolia, as indicated by the numerous Ætolians among the Hieromnemones. But the customs which these documents prove were undoubtedly much more ancient; and there is one among them,[1] which shows, by the name of the archon, Titus Flavius Pollianus, that the same usages and records existed two or three centuries later.

Although the records of the liberation of slaves are all nearly in the same form of expression, there are some differences, which it is interesting to observe. In general, the price of the slave's liberty was first deposited in the temple of Apollo, and then paid in full to the seller, who, in conjunction with an assurer (βεβαιωτὴρ), was answerable to the God for an equal sum, should any one attempt to treat the liberated person as a slave: at the same time, it was in the power of any one to rescue him or her from such attempt by force with impunity. Sometimes the fine was payable not to the God, but to an individual, as in the case of the female slave Apollonia, (Travels in Northern Greece,

[1] Boeckh, C. I. G. No. 1710.

ii. p. 635,) for whose liberty her mistress Praton, and the assurer Cleon, became responsible to the God in the sum of five minæ, to be paid to Seleucus, son of Seleucus, who doubtless had furnished the purchase-money.

At Athens, the price of slaves employed in mines, manufactures, and out-door work, was about two minæ, or 2·8 ounces of silver. At Delphi, we learn from the inscriptions that they were valued at from three to six minæ; but these were menials, and often perhaps born in the house of the liberator.

A.

On a block of stone just below the ancient prostrate columns at Delphi.

(Θ)εὸς τύχαν ἀγαθάν.
(Ἄρχοντ)ος Σωσιπάτρου τοῦ Αἰακίδα, βου-
-λευόντων τὰν πρώταν ἐξάμηνον Ἀντι(σθέ-)
-νεος τοῦ Διοδώρου, Ἀγίωνος τοῦ Κλεοδάμου,
γραμματεύοντος δὲ Ὑβρία τοῦ Ξένωνος· Ἐπεὶ
Ἀγίων Κλεοδάμου ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησί-
-αν διέλεγε ὑπὲρ Λαϊστᾶ τοῦ Ἀντάνορος (Ἡρα-
κλεώτα) δι' ὅτι ἐκτενὴς καὶ εὔνους ὑπάρχει πο-
-τί τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Δελφῶν, καὶ περὶ
πλείστου ποιεύμενος τὰν ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς
εὐσέβειαν, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν εὐχάριστον ἐν παντὶ
καιρῷ, παρασκευάζων καὶ κοινᾷ τᾷ πόλει (καὶ κατ')
ἰδίαν τοῖς ἐντυγχανόντοις τῶν πολιτᾶν ἐς ὃ
κά τις αὐτὸν παρακαλῇ, συνποτιγινόμενος (μετὰ)
πάσας προθυμίας ἐν οἷς κὰ τυγχάνωντι χρείαν ἔ-
-χοντες, καὶ λέγων καὶ πράσσων διὰ παντὸς (περὶ)
τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Δελφῶν· ἀγαθᾷ
τύχᾳ· δέδοχθαι τᾷ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν ἐν ἀγο-
ρᾷ τελείῳ σὺν ψάφοις ταῖς ἐννόμοις ἐπαινέ-

-σαι Λαϊστὰν Ἀντάνορος Ἡρακλεώταν (ἐπὶ τᾷ)
προαιρέσει ᾇ ἔχων διατελεῖ ποτί τε τὸ ἱερὸν (καὶ)
τὰν πόλιν τῶν Δελφῶν καὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ (καὶ) ἐγ-
-γόνοις παρὰ τᾶς πόλιος προξενίαν, προμαντείαν,
προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, προεδρίαν
ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγώνοις οἷς ἁ πόλις τίθητι, καὶ (γᾶς καὶ)
οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν, καὶ τ' ἄλλα (πάντ)α ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
(προξ)ένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾶς πόλιος ὑπάρχει· ἀνα-
-γράψαι δὲ τὸ (ψάφισ)μα τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν τῷ ἱε-
-ρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ
τόπῳ.

B.

On a stone built into a house near the same ruins.

(ἁ) πόλις τῶν Δ(ελφῶν)
. . . . . λέωνος Δελφὸν ἀ(ρετῆς)
(ἕνεκεν) καὶ εὐνοίας Ἀπ(όλλωνι τῷ)
Πυθ(ίῳ)

C.

Near the preceding.

(Λούκιον) Μάριον Νέπωτα Αἰγιαλειὸν, τετειμημένον ἀπὸ
τῆς Κορινθίων βουλῆς τειμαῖς βουλευτικαῖς καὶ ἀγορανομικαῖς,
Λούκιος Μάριος Νέπως πατὴρ, Κορίνθιος, καὶ Ἰουλία Αἰγιαλὴ,
Δελφὴ, τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱὸν Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίῳ.[2]

D.

In the church of St. Elias.

Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐκ τῶν τοῦ
θεοῦ χρημάτων ὑπὸ τὴν Φλαουίου Σω-
κλάρου ἐπιμελήτειαν τὴν βιβλιοθήκην
κατεσκεύασεν.

[2] Vide Leake's Northern Greece, vol. ii. p. 638.

E.

In a house near the church of St. Nicolas.

(Τὸ) κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμ(φικτυόνων)
Ἀγριππείναν
Μάρκου Ἀγρίππας (θυγατέρα)
Ἀπόλλωνι Π(υθίῳ)

F.

From one of the walls of the ἱερὸν of Apollo at Delphi.

(Θ)ε(οί)
Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Καλλικλεῖ Καλλικλέους Ἀθηναίῳ, οἰκοῦντι ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ ἱεροκήρυκι τῶν ἱερομναμόνων καὶ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προ-δικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις· ἄρχοντος (Δίωνος) βουλευόντων Ἐχεκράτου . . . . . γένεος Εὐίππου.

G.

Ἐπὶ Ἀμύντα ἄρχοντος, ἱερομνημονούντων (Αἰτωλῶ)ν Ἀριστ . . . . . λέωνος (Ἀλε-)
-ξάνδρου Νικιάδα Γενναδ(ίου)

Δελφῶν Νικομάχου Ἀγα . . . . . Βοιωτῶν . . . . . Φωκέων Στράτωνος· ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱε-
-ρομνήμοσι καὶ τοῖς ἀγορατροῖς· ἐπειδὴ Καλλικλῆς (Καλλικλέος Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ κοι)νῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Ἀμ-
-(φικτυόνων) διατελεῖ χρείας παρεχόμενος τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι καὶ τοῖς (Ἀμφικτίοσι) καὶ τοῖς ἄλ-
-λοις Ἕλλησιν πᾶσιν ἀνενκλήτως, (ἔδοξ)ε τοῖς (ἱερομνήμ)οσιν ἐπαινέσαι τε Καλλικλέα Καλ(λικλέ-)
-ος Ἀθηναῖον οἰκοῦντα ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ (καὶ στεφανῶ)σαι δά(φνη)ς στε(φά)νῳ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ε(ἶν)αι (αὐτῷ)
καὶ ἐκγόνοις προδικίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλει(αν) καὶ προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν (οἷς τιθέα-)
-σιν οἱ Ἀμφικτίονες.

H.

Θ(εοί)
Ἐπὶ Νικαΐδα ἄρχοντος, ἱερομνημονούντων Αἰτωλῶν Στομα . . . . . ολέμου,
ίου, Ἀλεξάνδρου, Σιμύλου, Ἀγήνορος, Στραταγοῦ, Σθεν . .
Κλεομάντιος· Βοιωτῶν Ἀνδροκλέος, Ἀρίστωνος, Φωκέων Νικία, (ἔδοξε) τοῖς ἱερομνήμο-
-σι καὶ τοῖς ἀγορατροῖς· ἐπειδὴ Καλλικλῆς ἱεροκηρυκέων
διατελεῖ χρείας παρεχόμενος (τοῖς τε) ἱερομνήμοσι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις,
(Ἕλλησιν) ἀ(νενκλήτως), ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσιν ἐπαι(νεσαι Καλλικλ)ῆ, Καλ(λικλέος Ἀθηναῖ-)
(-ον οἰκοῦ)ντα ἐν (Αἰτωλίᾳ) καὶ στε(φανῶσαι) δά(φνης στεφάνῳ καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ)
(καὶ) ἐν(γό)νοις προδικίαν, ἀσφάλειαν . . . . . .
. . . . . .

I.

Ἄρχοντος Ἀρχία, μηνὸς Δαιδαφορίου[3] (ἀπέδοτο . . . . .
-ρος Ἀβρομάχου τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ (σῶμα ἀνδρεῖ-)
-ον ᾧ ὄνομα Ἀσκλαπιάδας τὸ γένος (οἰκογενὲς / ἐνδογενὲς) τιμᾶς ἀρ-
-γυρίου μνᾶν ἕξ· καὶ τὰν τιμὰν ἔχει πᾶσαν· βεβαιωτὴρ
κατὰ τὸν νόμον τᾶς πόλιος . . . . . .
ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐλεύθερον εἶμεν Ἀσκληπιάδαν (καὶ ἀνέφα-)
-πτον ἀπὸ πάντων, καθὼς ἐπίστευσεν Ἀσκληπιά-
-δας τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνάν· εἰ δέ τις ἐφάπτοιτο Ἀσκλαπι-
-άδα ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῷ, κύριος ἔστω ὁ παρατυχὼν
συλέων ὡς ἐλεύθερον, ἀζάμιος ὢν καὶ ἀνυπόδι-
-κος πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας· μάρτυροι οἱ ἱερεῖς
τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, Ἀνδρόνικος, Πραξίας καὶ τῶν ἀρ-
-χόντων Πεισι κλείδας
(Ἅ)θαμβος Ἀγάθωνος, Δο
Δαμοσθένεος, Μνησίμαχος Ἀριστάν-
-δρου, Τρίτυλλος Φιλοκράτεος, Θεαρίων Ἀριστο-
-κλέος, Ἀρίστων Ἀλέξωνος Τροιζάνιος. (ἁ ὠνὰ) παρὰ
Μενήτα.

K.

Ἄρχοντος Πισιθέου τοῦ Ξένωνος, μηνὸς Θευξενίω,
ἀπέδοτο Εὔανδρος καὶ Καλλιστὼ, συνευ-
-δοκεούσαν τῶν θυγατέρων Αἴθρας καὶ Καλλιστοῦς,
τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον, ᾧ ὄνομα Εὔϊ-
(ος), τὸ γένος οἰκοθεν, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τεσσάρων, καὶ
τὰν τιμὰν ἔχοντι πᾶσαν· καθὼς ἐπίστευσε (Εὔϊος) τῷ θε-
ῷ τὰν ὠνάν· ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἐλεύθερος εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτος ἀ-
-πὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ποιῶν ὁ κὰ θέλῃ καὶ ἀπο-
-τρέχων οἷς κὰ θέλῃ· βεβαιωτὴρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον (τᾶς πόλιος)
(Θ)εύδοκος Πραξία· εἰ δέ τις ἅπτοιτο Εὐΐου ἐπὶ καταδουλισ-
-μῷ βέβαιον παρεχόντων τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνὰν οἵ τε ἀ-

[3] The name of a Delphic month, hitherto unknown, and forming the ninth.—V. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. i. p. 814.

-ποδόμενοι Εὔανδρος καὶ Καλλιστὼ (καὶ ὁ βεβαιωτὴρ Θεύ-)
-δοκος· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρεχόντων βέβαιον τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνὰν
(πρα)κτίμιοι ἐόντων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τᾶς πόλιος· (ὁ-
-μοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ) παρατυγχάνοντες κύρι(οι ἐόντων
συλέοντες) Εὔϊον ὡς ἐλεύθερον ἐόντα, ἀζάμιοι ἐόν-
-τες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι . . . . . .

L.

L. Hermidius Celsus et L. Rutilius . . . . . Augusti . . . . . et L. Hermidius Maximus et L. Hermidius . . . . . ædem et statuam Apollinis Augusti[4] et tabernas Deorum.

INSCRIPTIONS.

A.

ΕΟΣΤΥ ΑΝΑΤΑΘΑΝ
ΩΝΥΙΟΣΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥΤΟΥΑΙΑΚΙΔΑΒΟΥ
ΕΥΟΝΤΩΝΤΑΝΠΡΩΤΑΝΕΞΑΜΗΝΑΝΑΝΤΙΟΣ
ΝΕΟΣΤΟΥΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΑΓΙΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΚΛΕΟΔΑΜΟΓ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΔΕΥΒΡΙΑΤΟΥΞΕΝ·ΝΟΣ^ΕΙ
ΑΓΙΩΝΚΛΕΟΔΑΜΟΥΕΠΕΛΘΕΝΕΠΙΤΑΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙ
ΑΝΔΙΕΛΕΓΕΙΥΠΕΡΛΑΙΣΤΑΤΟΥΑΝΤΑΝΟΡΟΣΕΥΙ
ΚΛΕΞΤΑΔΙΟΥ ΕΚΤΕΝΗΣΚΑΤΕΥΜΟΥΣΥΠΑΡΧΕ·
ΤΙ . ΕΤΟΙΕΡΟΝΚΑΙΤΑΝΠΟΛΙΝΤΩΝΔΕΛΦΩΝΚΑΙΠΕΙ
ΠΛΕΙ . ΤΙΟΥΠΟΙΕΙΝΞΕΝΟΣΤΑΝΤΙ·ΟΤΙΤΟΥΣΟΜΟΥΣ
ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΝΑΥΤΟΣΑΥΤΟΝΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΚΝΠΑΙ
ΕΑΙΡΟΙΝΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΩΝΚΑΙΚΟΙΝΑΙΤΑΙΠΟΛΕΙ
ΞΔΙΛΗΤΟΙΣΕΝΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΝΤΟΙΣΤΩΝΠΟΛΙΤΑΝΕ
ΚΑΤΙΚΛΥΤΟΝΠΑΡΚΑΛΗΣΥΜΠΟΤΙΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣΙΤΩΝ
ΠΑΣΑΓΡΟΟΥΝΙΑΣΕΝΟΙΣΚΑΤΥΓΧΑΝΩΝΤΙΧΡΕΝΝΕ
ΧΟΝΤΕΣΚΑΙΛΕΓΙΝΚΑΙ Π··Σ ΙΩΝΔΙΑΠΑΝΤΟΣ
ΤΟΥΙΕΡΟΥΚΑΙΤΑΣΠΟΛΙΟΣΤΩΝΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΑΓΟΩΛΙ
·. ΤΥΚΑΙΔΕΔΟΥΘΑΙΤΑΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΔΕΛΦΩΝΕΝΝΠ
ΡΑΙΤΕΛΕΙΩΙΣΥΜΥΑΦΟΙΣΤΑΙΣΕΝΝΟΜΟΙΣΣΙΠΛΙΩΕ

[4] For Apollo Augustus see Gruter, C. Inscriptionum, pp. 36, 1066; Orellii Ins. Lat. Select., Nos. 404, 1436, 2548, 2628.

ΓΑΙΛΛΙΣΤΑΝΑΝΤΑΟΝΟΚΟΣΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΑΝΕ[illegible].
ΠΡΟΑΙΡΕΣΕΙΑΙΕΧΩΝΔΙΑΤΕΑΣΙΠΟΤΙΤΕΤΟΙΕΟΝΚ
ΤΑΝΠΟΛΙΝΤΩΝΔΕΛΦΩΝΚΑΙΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝΑΥΤΩΝΕΛΙΕ
ΙΟΝΟΙΣΠΑΡΑΤΑΣΠΟΛΙΟΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΝΠΡΟΜΑΝΤΕΙΑ:
ΠΡΟΔΙΚΙΑΝΑΣΥΛΙΑΝΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΠΑΝΤΩΝΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑΝ
ΕΝΠΑΣΙΤΟΙΣΑΓΩΝΟΙΣΟΙΣΑΠΟΛΥΣΤΙΘΗΤΙΚΑΙΠΑΣΤΑΓ
ΟΙΚΙΑΣΕΝΚΤΗΣΙΝΚΑΙΤΑΛΑΛΤ . ΙΑΟΣΑΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΑΞΛΟΞ
. . . ΞΕΝΟΙΣΚΤΥΕΡΠΕΡΑΙΣΤΑΣΠΟΛΙΟΣΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΝ : Α
ΓΙΛΥΑΙΔΕΤΟΥΛΑ : ΠΜΑΤΟΥΣΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣΕΝΤΠΙ ΙΞ
ΡΩΙΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΕΝΤΩΙΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΑΤΩΙ
ΤΟΠΩΙ

B.

ΑΑΠΟΛΙΣΤΩΝΔΙ
ΛΕΩΝΟΣΔΕΛΦΟΝΑ
ΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΑΠ
ΠΥΘ

C.

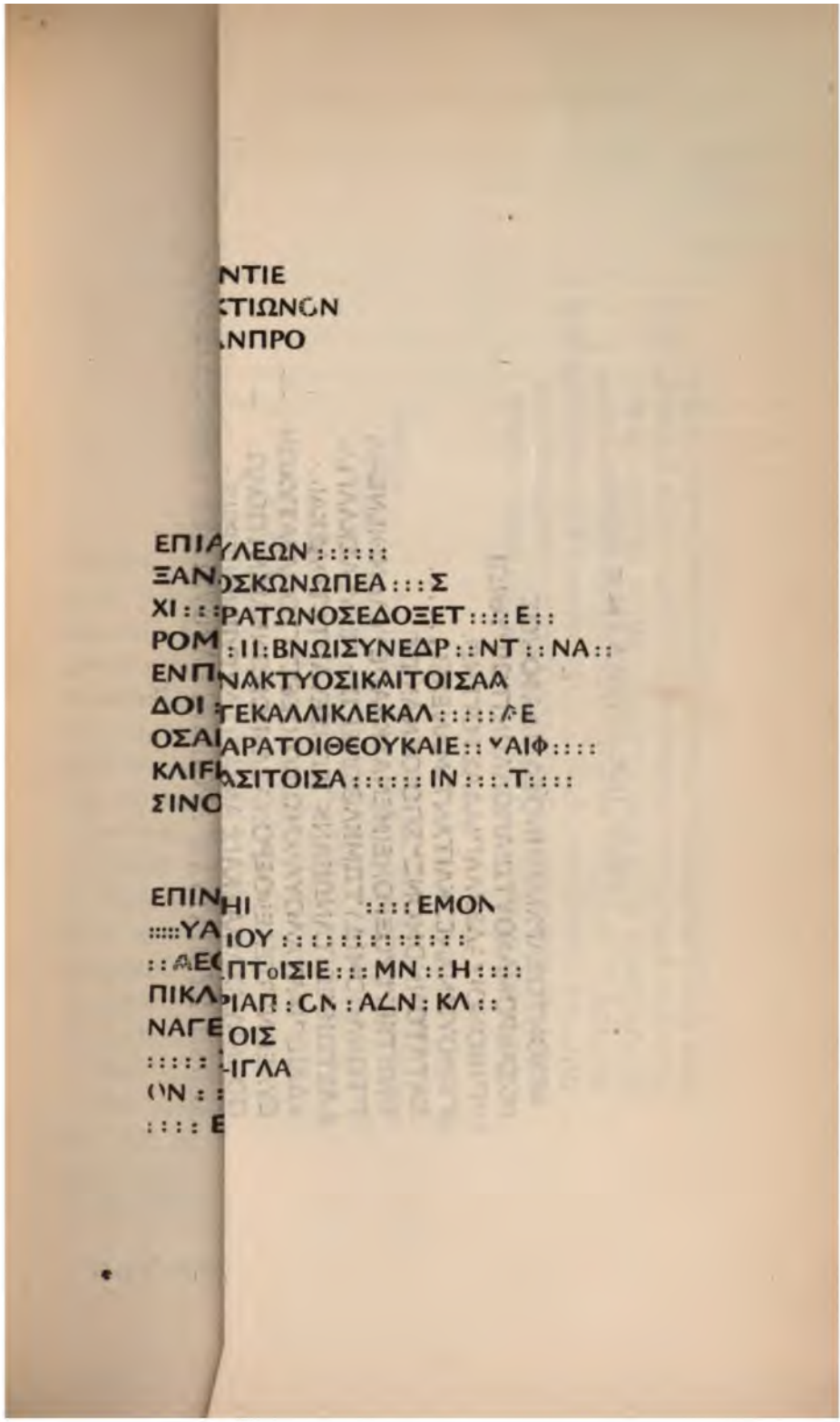
ΑΡΙΟΝΝΕΠΟΤΑΑΙΓΙΑΛΕΙΝΟΝΤΕ
ΕΙΜΙ-ΙΜΕΝΟΝΑΠΟΤΗΣΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ
ΒΟΥΛΗΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΙΚΑΙΣΚΑΙ
ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΙΚΑΙΣΑΜΑΡΙΟ[illegible]ΙΕΠ[illegible]
ΠΑΤΗΡΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΣΚΑΙΙΟΥΛ[illegible]..ΙΠΑΝ
ΔΕΛΦΗΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΥΙΟΝΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
ΠΥΘΙΩΙ

D.

ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝΕΚΤΩΝΤΟ·
ΘΕΟΥΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝΥΠΟΤΗΝΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΥΣΩ·
ΚΛΑΡΟΥΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΕΙΑΝΤΗΝΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΝ
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ

E.

ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛ
ΑΠΙΠΠΕΙΝΑΝ
ΜΑΡΚΟΥΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣΛ[illegible]
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ Π



however, various other opinions arose; and the characters and language were supposed by some to be Punic, by others Æolic or ancient Greek, or to have affinity with some northern or oriental languages. In the mean time it was surmised, that the characters might be Etruscan; and this opinion was gradually confirmed by subsequent discoveries of ancient monuments, with similar inscriptions, in various parts of Etruria and Umbria. This point being ascertained, endeavours were made to determine the value of the respective characters, and thus to form a complete alphabet of the language; but for a long time with little success, till at length Bourguet, a Frenchman, undertook the investigation, and the results proved satisfactory.

The next step, and one far more difficult, was to endeavour to explain the contents of the inscriptions, which, it was expected, would afford a considerable body of information respecting the history, laws, and customs of the ancient Umbrians and Etruscans. But, as the language was entirely unknown and unintelligible, (save a few names of cities or individuals, or some words of obvious analogy,) no other means were left but conjecture and divination. On these grounds a great variety of explanations, wholly discordant and unsatisfactory, were given by the learned of the age.

According to Buonarotti, these monuments referred to conventions between cities or tribes of this part of Umbria. Bourguet, Gori, and Bardetti, considered them as litanies and lamentations of the Pelasgi, who, having incurred the anger of the Gods, were afflicted by various calamities, which obliged them to abandon their establishments in Italy and return to Greece, three generations before the Trojan war, according to the

statement of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[2] Consequently the date of these inscriptions was referred to that period. According to Maffei and Passeri, they are supposed to record contracts, donations, private law-suits, and other legal acts.

Some account of the particulars, which relate to the various inquiries mentioned, has been given by Lanzi in his Essay of the Etruscan Language.[3] With his usual judgment and caution, this ingenious author confines himself to an explanation of those words only which appear to have analogy with the Greek and Latin languages. What he has done is, however, important; as it gives a general notion of the subjects of the inscriptions, and proves satisfactorily that all of them relate to the proceedings of an assembly of deputies from the various cities and districts which formed the Umbrian Confederacy; the principal object of this assembly being to offer sacrifices to Jupiter Apenninus in his temple, situated on a lofty mountain near the Via Flaminia, and not far distant from Iguvium.

Another object of the meeting was, probably, to treat of political affairs, and of all questions relating to the interests of the Confederacy. The names of various of the tribes or cities[4] which sent deputies are noticed, with particulars respecting the sacrifices and other religious rites.

A great portion of the contents seems to consist of litanies and prayers for the occasion. Among the

[2] Antiquit. Roman. lib. i. cap. 23, 24.

[3] Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, *loc. cit.*

[4] The names were the following:—Clavernia, Curiatis, Picratis, Talenatis, Musciatis, Juvescana, Casiratis, Pevasceania, Tarsinates. —V. Lanzi, tom. ii. pt. III. sect. 5.

ministers who officiated were the Fratres Ateriates, a sacerdotal order, probably similar to those of the Salii and Arvales, but of which no notice has been preserved. This assembly of the Umbrian Confederacy was probably of the same nature as those of the Latin cities on the Alban Mount, and of the Etruscan states in the temple of Voltumna.

The Tables, as before stated, are seven in number; and the earliest tolerably correct engravings of them appeared in the 'Etruria Regalis' of Dempster.[5] Latterly, however, *facsimiles* of them, far more satisfactory, have been published by Dr. Lepsius,[6] accompanied with observations in which much learning and judgment are displayed. Five of the Tables are inscribed in Etruscan or Umbrian characters; the other two in Latin characters. A few lines in these last characters are also engraved under the Etruscan inscription, No. 3.

It is very difficult to determine, with any degree of precision, the epoch to which these monuments can be referred; but from the concurrent use of different characters and languages, it is probable that they cannot be of an earlier date than the year of Rome 600, when the ancient Italian languages were gradually declining, and the Latin language was rapidly becoming prevalent. Of this we have a proof in the coins of the Confederates, in the Social War, A.R. 664, 668, which are inscribed partly in Latin, partly in Oscan or Etruscan legends; and in fact, long previous to this war, the Roman colonial establishments in Magna Græcia,

[5] Florentiæ, 1723, two vols. fol.

[6] Inscriptiones Umbriæ et Oscæ adhuc repertæ omnes. Lipsiæ, 1841.

and in almost every part of Italy, had introduced the Latin language.

No opinion on the subject has been given by Lanzi; who merely states, that the inscriptions appear to have been the work of three different engravers, who either were contemporaries, or lived at periods not far distant from one another.[7] In concluding his remarks, the learned author, with great modesty, confesses his doubts respecting many of the explanations he had proposed in the course of his inquiry; and acknowledges, that he considers the subject to be so very difficult,[8] as to give little or no hope of a complete interpretation of the inscriptions being made at any future period. This opinion, in fact, is conformable to that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[9] who states, that the Etruscans were a very ancient and indigenous race, with a language and mode of living very different from any other nation then known.

Since the publication of Lanzi's work, various eminent philologists, principally in Germany, and among others the much lamented K. O. Müller, have endeavoured to throw light on the language of the ancient Etruscans, and other nations of central Italy; but their endeavours have hitherto proved ineffectual.

After the failure of so many attempts made by the learned, it would be highly presumptuous to undertake

[7] Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, tom. i. part III. Suppl. 3.

[8] L'alfabeto c'insegna a legger le lettere; la ortografia c'insegna a leggere le parole, cio che segue è un tentativo per intendere le lingue stesse, se non pienamente, *ch'è impossibile*, almeno in alcuni sensi e periodi; ch'è quanto basta al titolo di questa opera.—Lanzi, *loc. cit.*

[9] *Ἔθνος ἀρχαῖον τὸ πάνυ, καὶ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ γένει οὔτε ὁμόγλωσσον οὔτε ὁμοδίαιτον.*—Antiq. Roman. lib. i. cap. 30.

a new inquiry with any hope of success. The object, on the present occasion, is entirely of a contrary nature, and to show (it is hoped in a satisfactory manner) that the language of these Tables is of a peculiar nature, and that it can never be understood, because it was originally composed with the intention of making it unintelligible.

Besides the language generally in use, it is well known that the ancients, particularly the Greeks, Romans, and Etruscans, had a mysterious language, supposed to be of a Divine nature, and which, as most agreeable to the gods, was therefore frequently employed in religious ceremonies, in private prayers, and as charms or spells against illness, or evils of any kind.

The first instance of the use of this secret language is as early as the time of Homer, who says, that the river *Scamander* was called so by mortals, but that it was named *Xanthus* by the gods;[10] and speaking of a steep hill near Troy, named *Baticia*, he says, "by the gods it was called *Myrina*."[11] The Romans acknowledged similar distinct appellations; and the sacred name of the city was kept an inviolable secret: as was also that of the divinity who was the special protector of Rome,[12] in order that it might not be invoked by an enemy who should besiege the city.

The employment of this extraordinary language did not become common in Greece, till after the introduction of the Mysteries, and the establishment of rites and ceremonies on an enlarged scale: this may have been about the time of Pisistratus. In the old

[10] Iliad, lib. xx. 74.
[11] Iliad, lib. ii. 813, 814.
[12] Macrobius, lib. iii. cap. 9.

national religion, however, of which the rites were public, the hymns and prayers were always in the vernacular language. It was only in the Mysteries that the secret language bore a great part, and it was accompanied by many symbols and rites borrowed from Egypt and Phœnicia. And as it is the nature of mankind in general to admire most what they understand least, obscurity was the principal cause of the great popularity which many of the Mysteries, particularly those of Eleusis, acquired and preserved till the final extinction of Paganism.

Of the mystical languages of the Greeks very little is known, owing probably to the reserve with which they were communicated, and to the danger to which those who revealed them were exposed.

With regard to the Romans, the case is different, and we possess ample remains, which throw great light on the inscriptions under consideration. Without proceeding further, it will be proper to lay the most important of these illustrative documents before the reader.

The first is found in the treatise on Agriculture of the celebrated Cato the Censor, and is of the highest authority; in fact, if no other of the kind existed, it would be quite conclusive. As a remedy for a distortion or sprain, he gives a charm or incantation, which was to be an instantaneous remedy.

"Luxum si quod est, hac cautione sanum fiet: Arundinem prende tibi viridem, P. IV. aut V. longam: mediam diffinde, et duo homines teneant ad coxendices. Incipe cantare IN ALIO, S. F. MOTAS VÆTA DARIES DARDARIES ASTATARIES DISSVNAPITER, usque dum coeant. Ferrum insuper jactato, ubi coierint, et altera alteram tetigerit; id manu prende, et dextra sinistra

præcide. Ad luxum, aut ad fracturam alliga; sanum fiet, et tamen quotidie cantato in alio, S. F. vel luxato. Vel hoc modo: HVAT HANAT HVAT ISTA PISTA SISTA DOMIABO DAMNAVSSTRA, et luxato. Vel hoc modo: HVAT HAVT HAVT ISTA SIS TAR SIS ARDANNABON DVNNAVSTRA." [13]

The language of the Salii was of the same kind. These, as is well known, were a college of priests, twelve in number, instituted by Numa in honour of Mars, and to take care of the sacred shields (ancilia). Varro, in his treatise *De Lingua Latina*, has given the following passage from their litanies: [14]

COZEVLO-DOIZESO, OMNIA VERO ADPATVLA COEMISSE IAMCVSIANES DVO MISCERVSES DVN IANUSVE VET POS MELIOS EVMRECVM.

That these hymns of the Salii and of other sacred colleges were ill understood, is evident from what the same author says on the subject.[15] He states further, that they were little understood even by the priests themselves.[16] Cicero, without doubt, alludes to this absurd jugglery, when he says, that it appears wonderful that one augur should be able to meet another without laughing.[17]

[13] M. Porcius Cato, De Re Rustica, cap. 160. Cato, the great enemy of Carthage, died at the advanced age of 86 years, in the year of Rome 605, and 149 before our æra.

[14] De L. L. lib. vii. sect. 26.

[15] "Neque multa ab eo eruentur, quem non erunt in lucubratione literæ prosecutæ, multum licet legerit. Ælii hominis in primo in literis Latinis exercitati interpretationem carminum Saliorum videbis et exili litera expeditam, et præterita obscura multa."—De L. L. lib. vii. sect. 2.

[16] "Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta."

[17] "Mirabile videtur, quod non rideat haruspex quum haruspicem videt."—De Nat. Deor. lib. i. cap. 26.

To give greater credit and authority to this dark language, it was supposed that the verses in question were composed 700 years before the time when Varro wrote. These absurd pretensions of an arrogant fraternity have justly been ridiculed by the great Satirist.

> "Jam Saliare Numæ carmen qui laudat, et illud,
> Quod mecum ignorat, solus vult scire videri."
> Horat. lib. ii. Epist. i. ver. 86, 87.

Various other monuments of the same nature have been discovered; and among these the hymns of the college of priests, called *Fratres Arvales*, are highly important in the present inquiry. The inscription gives an account of all the rites and sacrifices which had been performed on that day's meeting, and then proceeds to relate the final scene.

"*Ibi sacerdotes clausi, succincti, libellis acceptis, carmen discindentes tripodiaverunt in verba hæc:*

ENOS LASES IVVATE ENOS LASES IVVATE ENOS LASES IVVATE NEVE LVERVE MARMAR SINS INCVRRERE IN PLEORES SATVR FVFERE MARS LVMEN SALI STA BERBER SEMVNES ALTERNEL ADVOCAPIT CONCTOS ENOS MAMOR IVVATO TRIVMPE.

Post tripodiationem diende, signo dato, publici introierunt et libellos receperunt."

The ceremony here described took place under the consulate of M. Aurelius Antoninus Elagabalus, 219 of the Christian æra.[18]

Many fragments of this mysterious language might be collected and noticed; but the specimens produced, and the opinions entertained by the ancients themselves, afford sufficient proofs on the subject. That the lan-

[18] Marini, Atti dei fratelli Arvali, Roma, 1795, tom. ii. p. 570, tav. XLI.—Lanzi, Lingua Etrusca, tom. i. cap. 8, sect. 1.

guage of the inscriptions was not the same as the Latin language in use at Rome at the same period, is so clear and evident, that no observation is requisite.

It cannot be supposed, that in this sacred language the same forms were constantly employed, during a period of several hundred years; but that innovations and alterations were made, according to the caprice of those who had the direction of the sacred ceremonies. The object was, that the substance should be unintelligible to the public, leaving a few words only which could be understood, and thus excite a higher degree of curiosity and attention. These artifices, which were well known to the enlightened men of antiquity, have been properly qualified by Arnobius: *Quibus nomina indidistis obscura, vulgoque ut essent augustiora fecistis.*[19]

It may be inquired, what was the object of having the inscriptions engraved in different characters? That the two languages were not essentially different, appears evident; for, by comparing the Tables in the Etruscan or Umbrian with those in the Latin characters, we find the one to be a compendium of the other, and to offer a repetition, with few variations, of a great number of words and sentences.[20] Now all other inscriptions in Etruscan or Umbrian characters, elsewhere discovered, have hitherto been inexplicable, and, excepting proper names, scarcely ten words can be accounted for. Hence it appears, that the object of employing the two characters was to satisfy the two different classes of the population,—the Umbrian and the Latin,—who

[19] Arnobius, in Gent. lib. viii. sect. 24.

[20] Confrontò le due tavole scritte in Latino colla quarta scritta in Etrusco, e s'avvide questa essere compendio di quelle, e ripetersi qui con pochissime variazioni molte voci e molti sensi contenuti nelle due Latine.—Lanzi, Lingua Etrusca, tom. i. part 1. sect. 4.

perhaps were both little versed in the art of reading, especially compositions that were designed to remain unintelligible. From the concurrent use of these characters, it may be also inferred, that the inscriptions are of a time when the Latin language was becoming predominant; probably after the year of Rome 600.

Some authors have supposed that a difference existed between the Umbrian and the Etruscan characters and languages; but this opinion is without foundation, as they were intrinsically the same.

The same languages, and the same characters, appear to have been common to the Sabines, Oscans, Samnites, and to all the upper part of Italy, from Picenum to the Tyber, as far as the Eridanus, and the Adige, including a portion of Venetia.

When the Pelasgi Tyrrheni, migrating from Greece, came to Italy in search of a settlement, they took possession of a great part of the country occupied by the Umbrians, a numerous, and supposed indigenous nation, occupying the territory above described.[21] The invaders, being few in number, did not expel the native population, but made it tributary; and consequently the vernacular language was retained by the great mass of the inhabitants, while the ruling class continued the use of the Greek language.[22] This state of things lasted for several centuries, till the growth of

[21] The Pelasgi Tyrrheni subsequently extended their conquests as far as the Adige, and to the foot of the Alps.

[22] The Pelasgi Tyrrheni extended their conquests to the south, and possessed, for a length of time, the whole of Latium and of Campania, as far as the Silarus. Hence it is easy to account for the great affinity between the Latin language and the Æolic Greek. Roman authors assert that Romulus spoke Greek, the language in general use at the time.—Plutarch, in Romulo, Lydus de Magist. lib. i. *Ῥωμύλος καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν τῇ Αἰολίδι ἐφθέγγοτο φωνῇ.*

the Roman power produced a great change in the political state of Italy. The ruling class, the Pelasgi Tyrrheni, greatly reduced in numbers by frequent wars and domestic insurrections, were obliged to emigrate, and seek refuge elsewhere. The name of Tyrrhenia, which had been given by them to the country, was, after their departure, corrupted into that of Etruria and Tuscia; and the inhabitants called Etrusci and Tusci.[23] As these formed still a great and powerful people as late as the time of Sylla, while the Umbrians were reduced within very narrow limits, the name of Etruscan was given to the language which previously would have been called Umbrian.

In confirmation of the preceding statements, it is requisite to adduce the testimonies of various ancient authors, which prove, in the clearest manner, that a secret language was used in many of the religious rites of the Greeks and Romans, but particularly in those of a mysterious nature.

Magic, it is well known, bore a prominent part in the religion of the ancients. We learn from the Scriptures,[24] that in Egypt the magicians and sorcerers had carried their art to a great degree of refinement, as far back as 1500 years before our era. Of this nature were many of the representations and shows in the Mysteries, such as the raising of spectres, the descent of divine agents, and all that was conducive to excite admiration and terror in the candidates for initiation. The same arts were exercised in the management of oracles, such

[23] For particulars on this subject, the reader may consult two Memoirs "on the late Discoveries in Etruria," inserted in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' London, vol. ii. part i. 1832, page 76.; *id.* part ii. 1834, Supplement.

[24] Ἐπαοιδοὶ, φαρμακοὶ, σοφισταί.—Exodus, vii. 11.

as those of Trophonius, Amphiaräus, and others of the same nature.

These rites and operations were generally accompanied with a mysterious and unknown language. "It was a very ancient and very general opinion among the ancients, that those prayers were most prevalent and efficacious which were offered to the gods in a barbarous or unknown language; because the first and natural language of mankind, though barbarous and uncouth, yet consisted of words and names most agreeable to nature." *αἱ δὲ πρῶται καὶ γενικαὶ διάλεκτοι, βάρβαροι μὲν, φύσει δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσιν· ἔπει καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δυνατωτέρας εἶναι τὰς βαρβάρων φωνῇ λεγομένας.*[25]

There is much further testimony to the same effect; among others, that of Jamblichus, an author well versed in the Mysteries: *ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰ βάρβαρα ὀνόματα πολλὴν μὲν ἔμφασιν, πολλὴν δὲ συντομίαν, ἀμφιβολίας τε ἐλάττονος μετέσχηκε, καὶ ποικιλίας, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν λέξεων· διὰ πάντα δὴ οὖν ταῦτα συναρμόζει τοῖς κρείττοσιν.*[26]

The following passage from St. Epiphanius shows that the use of the secret languages was for fraudulent purposes. *Ὅπως τὰ Ἑλληνικῶς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι ῥαψῳδηθέντα, αὐτοὶ βαρβαρικοῖς ὀνόμασι μεταποιήσαντες τοῖς ἠπατημένοις παρ' αὐτῶν φαντασιῶν ἐργάζωνται.*[27]

Pliny has given ample details on the subject. "Quinimo externa quoque, et barbaros etiam ritus, indagabimus, fide tantum auctoris appellata.—Barbari externique ritus invenerint, etiamne Græci suas fecere has artes?—Neque est facile dictu, externa verba atque ineffabilia abrogent fidem validius, an Latina inopinata,

[25] Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 146.
[26] Jamblichus, De Myst. sect. vii. cap. 5.
[27] Epiphanius, Adv. Hæres. lib. i. cap. 26.

et quæ ridicula videri cogita animus, semper aliquid immensum expectans, et dignum Deo movendo, imo vero quod numini imperet."[28] And in another passage he says, "Carmina quædam extant contra grandines, contraque ambusta quædam etiam experta."[29]

Of the use of this unintelligible language in the Mysteries, a striking example is shown by Apuleius, and perfectly applicable to the Tables under consideration.—"De opertis adyti profert quosdam libros literis ignorabilibus prænotatos; et concepti sermonis, compendiosa verba suggerentes, a curiositate profanorum lectione munita."[30]

The incantations, or *Ἐπῳδαὶ*, were generally in verse, and therefore called *Carmina* by the Romans. Frequent mention of them is made by the Latin authors, particularly poets, who describe them as very powerful, and to have effect even on the gods.

> "Avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit;
> Impetrat et pacem, et locupletem frugibus annum;
> Carmine Dî superi placantur, carmine Manes."
>
> Horat. ii. Epist. i. 136-138.

[28] Plinius, Hist. Nat. lib. xxviii. sect. 1-4. [29] Id. sect. 5.
[30] Apul. Metamorph. lib. xi. 255.

IV.—THE INSCRIBED STELE AT XANTHUS.

LETTER FROM W. MARTIN LEAKE, ESQ., TO THE SECRETARY.

(Read November 14th, 1844.)

Paris, 5th November, 1844.

SIR,

The moulds taken by Mr. Fellows from the great inscribed stele at Xanthus having arrived in England, and a cast of the inscription having been taken from them at the British Museum, an inspection of the cast has now enabled me to submit to the Society a correct text of the Greek epigram in twelve lines which occurs on one side of the stele, between two portions of the Lycian epigraphs. It was not until the day before I left England that I had an opportunity of inspecting the cast.

The blank spaces before or between the letters show that the number of letters is not quite certain. The dots show the exact number of letters wanting.

1. .ΞΟΥΤΕΥΡΩΓΗΝ . ΣΙΑΣΔΙΧΑΓΟΝ . ΟΣΕΝΕ
2. ΥΔΕΣΓΩΛΥΚΙ . . ΣΤΗΛΗΝΤΟΙΑΝΔΕΑΝΕΘΗΚΝ
3. ΩΔΕΚΑΘΕΟΙΣΑ ΓΟΡΑΣΕΝΚΑΘΑΡΩΙΤΕΜΕΝ
4. ΕΩΝΚΑΙΓΟΛΕ . ΟΥΜΝΗΜΑΤΟΔΕΑΘΑΝΤΟΝ
5. ΙΣΟΔΕΑΡΓΑΓΟΥΙΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΣΤΑΑΓ . ΝΤΑ
6. ΡΣΙΓΑΛΗΝΑΥΚΙΩΝΤΩΝΤΟΤΕΝΗΛΙΚΙΑΙ

7. ΛΛΑΣΔΕΑΚΡΟΓΟΛΕΣΣΥΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΑΙΓΤΟΛΙΓΟΡΩΙ
8. ΡΣΑΣΣΥΝΓΕ . . . ΙΝΔΩΚΕΜΕΡΟΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ ΑΣ
9. . ΝΧΑΡΙΝΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΟΙΑΓΕΜΝΣΑΝΤΟ . ΙΚΑΙΑΝ P Δ
10. ΕΓΤΑΔΕΟΓΛΙΤΑΣ . ΤΕΙΝΕΝΕΝΗΜΕΡΑΙ . . ΚΑΔΑΣΑ .
11. ΣΗΝΙΔΕΓΕΣΤΑΤΡΟΓΑΙΑΓΟΤΩΝ . . . ΗΣΕΝΑΓΑΝΩΝ
12. ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΙΣΔΕΡΓΟΙΣΚΛ . ΙΚΑΓΕΝΟ . ΕΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΕ.

1. *Ἐξ οὗτ' Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχα πόντος ἔνειμεν,*
2. *Οὐδείς πω Λυκίων στήλην τοιάνδε ἀνέθηκεν*
3. *Δώδεκα Θεοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐν καθαρῷ τεμένει,*
4. *Νεικέων καὶ πολέμου μνῆμα τόδ' ἀθάνατον*
5. *(Σπαρσ[1])ις ὅδε Ἁρπάγου υἱὸς, ἀριστεύσας τὰ ἅπαντα*
6. *(Κα[2])ρσὶ πάλην Λυκίων τῶν τότ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ·*
7. *Πολλὰς δ' ἀκροπόλεις σὺν Ἀθηναίᾳ πτολιπόρθῳ*
8. *Πέρσας, συνγένεσιν δῶκε μέρος βασιλείας,*
9. *Ὧν χάριν ἀθάνατοι οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντο δικαίαν·*
10. *Ἑπτὰ δ' ὁπλίτας κτεῖνεν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Ἀρκάδας ἄνδρας·*
11. *Ζηνὶ δὲ πλεῖστα τροπαῖ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἔστησεν ἁπάντων,*
12. *Καλλίστοις δ' ἔργοις ( )[3] γένος ἐστεφάνωσεν.*

Since the time when the sea first separated Europe from Asia, no one of the Lycians has erected such a pillar as this to the Twelve Gods in a pure inclosure of the Agora, but (Dat)is, son of Harpagus, has done this, he who had gained the highest honours in the games of the Carians (*or* with his hands) in wrestling with all such of the Lycians as were of the proper age. Having destroyed many citadels, with the assistance of Minerva, the spoiler of cities, he gave a portion of the dominion to his relatives, for which things the Immortals have bestowed on him just favour. He slew in one day seven heavy-armed

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[1] (χερσ) Gerhard. [2] (χε) Gerhard.
[3] (κλαδὶ καὶ) Letronne.

soldiers, men of Arcadia; for all these things he raised many trophies to Jupiter, and with his noble actions has crowned the race of —— (*or* with a wreath of glory has crowned his race.)

In endeavouring to restore and explain the inscription, the first observation which occurs is, that at the beginning of the first line not more than one letter is deficient, and that the second letter of that line being undoubtedly a Ξ, there can be no question that the first word was *Ἐξ*. It is evident therefore that the line has been borrowed from the epigram of Simonides on the battles at Cyprus and the Eurymedon,[4] and that the beginning of the second line is ΟΥΔΕΣ (*i. e.* ΟΥΔΕΙΣ) ΠΩ ΛΥΚΙΩΝ. The *οὐδείς πω* seems to be an imitation of the *οὐδενί πω* of Simonides. This humble follower of the poet of Ceos seems to have considered it no objection to his employment of the borrowed verse, that the ΤΕ, which is there connected with the ΚΑΙ of the second line, has no meaning in the imitation, where no *καὶ* follows the *τε*. From the second line, as now read, we may presume that the son of Harpagus did not consider himself a Lycian, which gives force to the *συνγένεσιν* of the eighth line, and the *γένος* of the last line.

In the third line there is a long vacant space between the Α and Γ of the word ΑΓΟΡΑΣ, but no trace of a letter is to be seen in that space, and there can be

[4] *Ἐξ οὗτ' Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχα πόντος ἔνειμεν,*
Καὶ πολέμους θνητῶν θοῦρος Ἄρης ἐφέπει,
Οὐδενί πω κάλλιον ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν
Ἔργον ἐν ἠπείρῳ καὶ κατὰ πόντον ἅμα·
Οἵδε γὰρ ἐν γαίῃ Μήδων πολλοὺς ὀλέσαντες,
Φοινίκων ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἕλον ἐν πελάγει
Ἀνδρῶν πληθούσας· μέγα δ' ἔστενεν Ἀσὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
Πληγεῖσ' ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ, κράτει πολέμου.
Anthol. Brunck, Simon. Ep. 46, i. p. 134.

little doubt that it was passed over on account of some deep furrows which may be observed crossing the direction of the lines in that part of the stone: indeed we may observe generally, that the intervals between the letters in this document are very unequal, and that the letters themselves are not so well defined, or so deeply cut, as the Lycian characters which cover the other parts of the *stele;* though it would not be safe to infer, from this circumstance, that a part of the Lycian inscription had been obliterated to receive the Greek; for Mr. Fellows, after a careful examination of the surface of the stele, was persuaded that no such erasure had been made.

The name of the son of Harpagus, in the beginning of the fifth line, is irrecoverably lost; but the two final letters ΙΣ, are preserved, and the proportion of space seems to indicate that they were preceded by not less than four or five letters.

The initial word of the sixth line is equally uncertain; ΡΣΙ alone remain: the word may have been ΚΑΡΣΙ or ΧΕΡΣΙ: the first supposes the games, in which the son of Harpagus gained the victory over all the young men of Lycia, to have been in Caria, which is not improbable; the coins of Caria, as well as its history about the time of the date of this inscription, demonstrating that Greek art and Greek customs prevailed there in a degree of perfection, which an adherence to national customs in Lycia render less likely to have been attained in that country: whence it is easily conceivable that a gymnastic contest, in which Lycians alone were competitors, may have taken place in Caria. The Chevalier Edward Gerhard, of Berlin, supplies the name in the fifth line by ΧΕΡΣΙΣ, and the word in the sixth line by ΧΕΡΣΙ. Such a *παρονομασία* may

perhaps justify the word χερσὶ in this place; otherwise it seems hardly proper as joined to πάλην, as the hands, which were the principal agents in the πυγμὴ, or boxing, performed only a subordinate part in wrestling.

In vol. i. of the new series of our 'Transactions,' I suggested that ΔΑΤΙΣ may have been the name of the son of Harpagus; Datis, like Harpagus, having been a Median name Hellenized. An objection to this conjecture is, that there appear to have been more than three letters preceding ΙΣ. Another conjecture may perhaps be offered, founded on the Lycian name of the son of Harpagus. This name occurred, but has been lost by a fracture of the stone, at the end of the twenty-fourth line of the south-western side of the pillar, which was followed, at the beginning of the twenty-fifth line, by the words ᴀΡΓΓᴀΨΟ+:ΤΕΔ⍋ΕΜΕ: *i. e.* ΑΡΓΑΓΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ. There can be little doubt that it must also have occurred in the Lycian lines which preceded the Greek, and were the commencement of the whole. Here eighteen letters are wanting at the beginning, and three at the end of the first line: at the beginning of the second line eight letters are wanting: and these numbers are very nearly, if not exactly, correct, as all the letters in the Lycian inscriptions of this monument fall in a line with those above and below them; so that there is the same number of letters in every line. The first two lines are as follows:

. . . . . ΨΤ⍒:ΙΕ∫ᴀΓΡΞ∼ᴀ . . .
(ᴀΡΓΓᴀΨΟ)+⍋[5]:ΤΕΔ⍋ΕΜΕ:∫⍋ΓᴀΡΙΙᴀ:ΨΒΕΔ⍋:∫⍋∫Ι

[5] This Lycian genitive of ᴀΡΓΓᴀΨΟ∫ differs from that in line

From the situation of the word zesaprina(fatu), which terminated the first line, and that of tedêeme in the second, and from the termination in the accusative case of the word preceding zesaprinafatu, there seems no doubt, on comparing this commencement with that of some bilinguar inscriptions on sepulchral monuments, in Greek and Lycian, as well as others in Lycian alone, which have been explained by Mr. Sharpe, that the purport of this commencement would have been expressed in Greek as follows, *Τούτην τὴν στήλην ἀνεστήσατο*[6] *Ἁρπάγου υἱὸς* ƧΛΓΑΡΙΙΑ; whence it appears that Separzza was the Lycian name of the son of Harpagus: this may possibly have been imitated in Greek by ΣΠΑΡΣΙΣ, which, requiring five letters before ΙΣ, will fill up the vacant space in the fifth Greek line better than any other name which has been proposed.

At the end of the fifth line, or rather between it and the fourth, may now be seen ΤΑ in smaller letters over the final Ν of the fifth line: these it is evident were so placed because there was no room for them in line 5; and the last word therefore of that line was *ἅπαντα*.

In the middle of the seventh line, a letter, given in the copy of the inscription published in the last volume of our 'Transactions' as Ι, is evidently Υ, whence it

25 of the south-eastern side by the addition of the final ⍏. It is not unlikely there was an additional letter also at the beginning, as the vacancy is sufficient for eight letters: it may perhaps have been a Lycian letter equivalent to the Greek article *ὁ*.

[6] In the sepulchral inscriptions explained by Mr. Sharpe, prinafatu (ΓΡΞΝΑFΑΤ✠:) corresponds to *ἐποιήσατο*, but the stele, being a different kind of monument from those on which those sepulchral inscriptions were engraved, required a different verb. Perhaps zesaprinafatu meant literally 'up-made,' *i. e.* made erect, erected.

is necessary to read ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΣ (*i. e.* *'ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΣ*) ΣΥΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑΙ. Near the end of that line, after ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ, it is difficult to say whether there was an upright line, mistaken in the former copy of the inscription for an Ι, or merely a vacant space: in either case it was intended to show that the letters ΑΣ beyond it do not belong to this verse, but to the end of one of the following lines, where there was not room for them. That line is the tenth, where, by supplying ΑΡ for the two deficient letters which follow ΗΜΕΡΑΙ, Ν for the deficient letter at the end of the tenth line, and then by adding to it the Δ which stands between the tenth and ninth lines, and the Ρ which stands between the ninth and eighth lines, and the ΑΣ at the end of the eighth line, we obtain ΑΡΚΑΔΑΣ ΑΝΔΡΑΣ for the two last feet of the tenth verse. Hence also it seems clear that the last word of the eighth line is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ (*i. e.* *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ*), and that *εἰας*, like the two syllables of *θεοῖς*, and the two final syllables in *νεικέων*, are to be read as single syllables by synæresis, like similar diphthongs in modern Greek poetry.

In the eleventh line, ΠΕΣΤΑ seems to stand for ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ, this being exactly the word required with reference to the many citadels taken and the enemies slain by the son of Harpagus. Of the Ε for ΕΙ in this word, we have seen that there are three other examples, namely, ΟΥΔΕΣ, ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΣ, and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ: the omission of Λ in ΠΛΕΣΤΑ we must suppose to be a defect of the same kind as the omissions in ΑΝΕΘΗΚΝ, ΑΘΑΝΤΟΝ, ΑΠΕΜΝΣΑΝΤΟ, ΑΠΑΝΩΝ. All these were probably the inadvertencies of an illiterate or unskilful engraver, and they concur with the greater length of the Lycian epigraphs on this monument, and

the greater care bestowed upon their engraving, in proving the predominance of the Lycian race in Xanthus, at the time of the erection of this stele, and the prevalence of a national literature, which is equally shown by the more ancient of the Lycian coins, as well as by the numerous inscriptions in the Lycian character still existing on ancient monuments. But it was not peculiar to Lycia: monuments are still extant in Phrygia, which prove that country also to have had a national alphabet, derived from the same origin as the Greek; and some of the coins of Pamphylia afford similar evidence as to that province.

In the twelfth line, the word or words preceding ΓΕΝΟΣ are still doubtful. I have already offered the suggestion that these letters contained the name of the *γένος* of Harpagus,[7] which, as I before remarked, was a branch of the Kaianean dynasty of Persia. M. Letronne, of the Royal Institute, proposes to supply the doubtful interval with ΚΛΑΔΙ ΚΑΙ, but this would suppose an omission by the engraver of two letters in five.

In regard to the date of this inscription, the adoption of the first line from an epigram on the victories of Cimon serves to show that it was not so ancient as 470 B. C.; the characters in which it is written prove it to be of a much later time. The forms in fact are those of the age of Alexander, or at least not earlier than 400 B. C. A fragment of an inscribed marble, discovered by Mr. Fellows in his last journey to Xanthus, and which is now in the British Museum, furnishes an excellent comparison, as it records a donation of Pixodarus, who was son of Hecatomnus, king of

[7] 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' vol. i. new series, p. 264.

Caria,[8] and reigned a very few years before the expedition of Alexander into Asia, in the year 334 B. C., and whose beautiful silver coins are well known.

On the back of this stone are Lycian characters, deeply and carefully cut, like those on the stele:[9] the Greek characters differ only in the form of the N, which is of the regular shape of the time of Alexander the Great, while the N of the stele has its upright lines, unequal in height or level, being in a state of transition from the more archaic ᴎ to the N of the time of Alexander, which has descended to the modern alphabets of Europe. This comparison therefore tends to assign to the Greek inscription of the stele the date of the beginning of the fourth century B. C. A similar

[8] ΕΔΩΚΕΝΠΙΞΩΔΑΡΟΣΕΚΑ(ΤΟΜ)
ΝΟΙ . . . ΛΩΙ
Υ Ε
Ο ΙΣ Ε
ΓΥΓΟ.ΠΙ
Κ.ΣΕΝ
ΧΟ
Κ
ΝΟΙ...Τ ΟΙ ΙΝΔΩ
ΕΟΙΣΑΝΔΡΑΣΙΝΚΑΙ Γ
ΠΙΞΩΔΑΡΟΥΚΑ
ΑΡΟΥΒΩΜ
ΑΣΤ

[9] Among the Lycian words on this fragment is ᴀᴘΞᴎᴀ, in Greek ΑΡΝΑ, a Pelasgic name found in many parts of Greece and in Italy, and which we learn from Stephanus to have been the more ancient appellation of the city, which took its later name ΞΑΝΘΟΣ from the yellow sandy river so called. ᴀᴘΞᴎᴀ occurs as the name of a city on a Lycian coin published by Pellerin (I. Pl. 85), and on the S. W. face of the stele of Xanthus.

inference may be deduced from the diphthong ΕΙ in ΚΤΕΙΝΕΝ, compared with the omission of the Ι of the same diphthong, in the words ΟΥΔΕ Σ, ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕ Σ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΑΣ, ΠΛΕ ΣΤΑ, showing a similar state of transition from the old orthography to that which we know to have been finally adopted at Athens in the year 403 B. C. ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ in the fourth line, compared with ΑΡΠΑΓΟ for ΑΡΠΑΓΟΥ in the fifth, is an anomaly of the same kind, and leads to a similar conclusion. The mention of Arcadian hoplitæ is perfectly consistent with the same date: the populousness and poverty, which gave rise to colonial migrations from Arcadia in earlier ages, caused them, about the time above-mentioned, to seek employment as soldiers in various countries. Thucydides informs us, that in the Athenian expedition against Syracuse, Arcadians were to be found in the ranks of both the contending powers.[10]

The remarkable position of this Greek epigram between two portions of the Lycian inscription, is another circumstance attending it, which is not unworthy of examination. From its tenor there seems reason to believe that it is not the work of the same person who raised the monument, but was added at a subsequent time, perhaps by some other member of the same family. If so, the Lycian inscription which follows the Greek, on the north-eastern side, was also a posterior addition.

Whether the inscriptions on the three other sides of the pillar were contemporary with the twenty lines at the top of the north-eastern side, or subsequent additions, cannot so easily be determined: it seems evident

[10] Thucyd. vii. 57.

however from the name[11] Harpagus (ΑΡΓΓΑΨΟΣ:) in line 58—59, of the north-eastern side, and the mention of the son of Harpagus (ΑΡΓΓΑΨΟ+:ΤΕΔΤΕΜΕ:) in line 24—25, of the south-western side, that all these inscriptions related to Harpagus or his family. Although the stele resembles, in its form and magnitude, some others described by Mr. Fellows, which were sepulchral monuments, or at least attached to sepulchres, the Greek inscription affords no intimation that this pillar was of the same kind; nor is there much probability, that had such been its purpose, it would have been placed in the Agora, or in a Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods.

One of the most curious considerations arising from this Greek document, is the occurrence of the name Harpagus, as coupled with another fact, namely, that one of the friezes now in the British Museum, brought by Mr. Fellows from the ruins of a building at Xanthus, seems to represent the capture of Xanthus in the year 520 B. C., as related by Herodotus,[12] on which occasion the historian informs us, that the General was a Mede, who by the Greeks was named Harpagus. We learn, from the same author, that another Harpagus, connected, like the former, with the royal family of Persia, was employed by the king to reduce an insurrection on the coast of Æolis, in the year B. C. 493.[13] Harpagus, therefore, appears to have been one of those illustrious names which it was customary to preserve, in ancient families, in the alternate generations; and it is not an improbable conjecture that the second Harpagus was a descendant of the first, and

[11] See the lithograph in 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' vol. i. new series, p. 254.

[12] Herodot. i. 108.

[13] Id. v. 116; vi. 28, 30.

that the son of Harpagus who erected the stele belonged to the same γένος.

Whether he who dedicated the stele was the same who built the temple on the frieze of which the capture of Xanthus by the first Harpagus was represented, cannot be certainly known; but that it was built by one of the family of Harpagus may fairly be inferred from that frieze, joined to the fact which now clearly appears from the discovery of Mr. Fellows, that the building was a heroum or sepulchral temple. Mr. Fellows has shown that it could not have been a temple in the common acceptation of the term, although surrounded by an Ionic peristyle, and surmounted with pediments decorated with statues, because it stands upon a basement almost as high as the temple itself, without any steps into the peristyle; so that there could not have been any access into the cella but by a door on a level with or below the surface of the ground; or else by ladders into the peristyle, and from thence into the cella by some concealed opening, in the manner which is exemplified in many extant sepulchres in the same countries. To these also, whether simple sarcophagi or constructions of any other kind, it bears resemblance in the height of the basement, in which were generally contained the sepulchral vaults of the descendants of the occupant of the upper structure. The sculptures which decorate this temple are precisely such as are found on the tombs of illustrious persons, in every part of the ancient world from Egypt to Etruria. On the basement were recorded the wars and conquests of the deceased; on the architrave of the peristyle, his power, amusements, and possessions, are alluded to; the Aëti at one end represented a battle; at the other referred to his divine descent; the frieze of the cella was confined to the

description of funereal rites and ceremonies, proving that here was the tomb properly so called, and that all the rest was accessory, like the exterior parts of the temples of the Gods. The representation of a siege, we may observe, was a favourite subject on oriental monuments, which commemorated the glory of conquerors. It is found on monuments of Egypt and Persia, and on some of the remains of antiquity recently discovered at Nineveh. In the example at Xanthus, though the custom was oriental, the art which represented it was purely Greek, that is to say, Asiatic Greek; for a distinction may be observed between these sculptures and those of European Greece, in the form and management of the drapery, and some other accessories: there is something also of that μαλακώτερόν τι or voluptuous character which was attributed to the manners, arts, and literature of Asiatic Greece. In other respects this building differed little from a Greek temple, except in the mode of entering the cella, which is to be accounted for from its being a real depository of the deceased family; whereas Greek temples, if they were sepulchral in their origin, had in process of time become cenotaphs, and might therefore have an entrance where most convenient. In every city of Greece, Asiatic as well as European, there existed, in some shape or other, a sanctuary of some hero worshipped as a founder or leader (οἰκιστὴς, ἀρχαγέτης). The Theseium of Athens was nothing else, and we know that in the Agora of Xanthus itself stood the Σαρπηδωνεῖον, or heroum of Sarpedon; it will not be a very hazardous conjecture, therefore, to suppose the Ionic building, of which the British Museum possesses the sculptures, to have been the Harpageium (τὸ Ἁρπαγεῖον).

The care bestowed by the ancients upon the sepulchres of their families, and the custom of erecting costly monuments in honour of illustrious deceased individuals, which appears to have been transmitted from the people of Asia to those of Europe, were in no part of the ancient world more remarkable than in Caria and Lycia. The ancient descriptions of the *Μαυσωλεῖον*, or sepulchral temple of Mausolus, furnish, as well as an extant monument at Mylasa and numerous inscriptions at Aphrodisias, evidence as to Caria, which in Lycia is still more conspicuous, in consequence of the facilities which its rocks afforded of forming sepulchres of a more permanent kind than those which were constructed in Caria, or any other parts of Asia Minor, where national customs gave way to the Greek, at an earlier time than in Lycia.

To the greater degree of permanence of the rock-tombs of Lycia, not less than to the prevalence of a national style, it is owing probably that with the exception of the Roman-Greek remains at Patara, specimens of Greek architecture are extremely rare in Lycia; and it may be fair perhaps to infer from the same premises that the Ionic building at Xanthus is not so ancient as the greater part of those works, though it is probably earlier than the age of Alexander; as there is little probability that any buildings indicating public or individual wealth should have arisen in the secondary cities of Greece after the Macedonian conquest. Such works belong to none but the most prosperous times. The Macedonians, by introducing the Greek language and the Greek customs of their own age into Asia, and by attracting population to the new cities which they founded and named in various parts of the country, reduced the importance of the ancient

cities, and gradually extinguished every kind of national distinction.

Still less can the temple in question have been a production of the time of the Roman empire, as some persons have been inclined to believe, although it is true that in the reign of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, the old cities in many parts of the Roman empire recovered part of their ancient splendour, and many new buildings arose in Asiatic towns which for five centuries had been in a decayed condition. That opinion has chiefly arisen from the position of the lower sculptures of the basement; for although there occurs at Athens in the temple of Victory without Wings an instance of a cornice and frieze crowning a stylobate or high basement, there is no example of a frieze at the *foot* of such a wall; and the singularity is the more remarkable, from this frieze being of larger dimensions than the upper: it has been supposed to have been taken from the ruins of some older building, and applied to an architectural patchwork of Roman times. But there are no such inconsistencies in the edifice in question as will support this opinion; if there is any difference in the style of the two friezes, the greater apparent antiquity is in the upper: the columns resemble the pure Ionic of Samos or Sardeis much more than the Ionic of Roman times; when, moreover, the Ionic had almost entirely given way to the Corinthian and its modifications. But even if the style of art in the building under consideration could be reconciled to that of the Roman empire, there would still be a great difficulty in conceiving that such a subject as the capture of Xanthus by the Persians should have been chosen to decorate a monument erected six or seven hundred years after the event.

This subject, indeed, we may take occasion to remark, could hardly at any time have been pleasing to the Xanthians, unless to such of them as were descendants of the conquerors; and the same reflection operates strongly in favour of the opinion, that the temple was the heroum of Harpagus, raised by one of his family.

On the other hand, there is no valid reason for supposing that Greek art was excluded from Lycia, when in its state of half-independence, under the Persian domination. Undoubtedly the Lycians were remarkable for the careful preservation of an ancient language, and of a peculiar style in their sepulchral monuments; but it is equally certain, that the customs, arts, mythology, and language of Greece, were brought into Lycia at a very early time by numerous colonies from European Greece, Crete, Rhodes, and other places, in like manner as they were into Caria, Pamphylia, and Pisidia. The numerous Greek names of places in Lycia sufficiently attest the early colonization of Lycia by the Greeks. Even in the sepulchres, which, in their imitation of a wooden construction, commemorate the ancient sylvan life of the Lycians, before they had acquired a facility in excavating and shaping their rocks, we distinguish the Greek school of sculpture, not only in the iconic and pictorial decorations, some of which are of the best times of Greece, but even in the details and execution of the imitations of carpentry, and their accompaniments.

Lycia, between the years 520 and 334 B. C., formed a division of the great Satrapy, which comprehended also Æolis, Ionia, Caria, and Pamphylia: all these appear to have been governed subordinately by native δυνάσται, whom the Greeks sometimes intituled βασιλεῖς, and who, after the time of Alexander, were styled

σατράπαι, until all memory of Persian manners was lost in those of Greece. These Asiatic Greeks often made war with one another, as we learn from Theopompus, whose authority, in relation to these times and places, deserves credit, as he was a native of Chios, and contended for a literary prize at the funeral of Mausolus, king of Halicarnassus. Theopompus shows, that about the time when Caria was governed by the families of Lygdamis and Hecatomnus, Lycia was under a similar government; for he makes mention of a successful expedition of the Lycians against Telmissus, under their king (βασιλεὺς), whose name, Pericles, shows him to have been a Greek. The date of this event cannot indeed with certainty be determined, the notice of it occurring only in a fragment of Theopompus which has been preserved by Photius;[14] but as the book of Theopompus, in which it occurred, related the events which followed the peace of Antalcidas in 387 B. C., the regal authority of Pericles occurred probably about the same time.

Placed as the iconic sculptures of the Xanthian temple now are, beside those of Phigaleia, a similarity of style will be evident to the most cursory observer; but it does not follow that they are exactly of the same age. We need only compare the marbles of the Parthenon with those of Phigaleia, which formed portions of a temple built by the architect of the Parthenon himself, to be convinced how easy it might be, in reference to productions of the age between Phidias and Augustus, or those in which Greek art was in its meridian, to mistake the works of an inferior hand for those of a later time. If the temple of Xanthus was

[14] Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 176.

built by the same powerful and opulent son of Harpagus, who raised the stele in the Agora, which is not unlikely, the works of sculpture from that temple were probably forty or fifty years later than those of Phigaleia or the Parthenon: the extreme descending limit of time at which they can, with any great degree of probability, be placed, is a few years prior to the conquest of Alexander, or about a century after the time of Phidias.

Considering the temple at Xanthus as a sepulchral monument, it furnishes the means of an interesting comparison with the description which antiquity has left us of the celebrated construction of the same kind in the neighbouring Caria, built by Artemisia to her husband Mausolus, at a time not distant from that when I suppose the Xanthian mausoleum to have been erected.

Pliny thus describes the Halicarnassian edifice:

Patet ab austro et septemtrione sexagenos ternos pedes: brevius à frontibus: toto circuitu pedes quadringentos undecim: attollitur in altitudinem viginti quinque cubitis: cingitur columnis triginta sex: Pteron vocavere. Ab oriente cælavit Scopas, a septemtrione Bryaxis, a meridie Timotheus, ab occasu Leochares . . . . . Accessit et quintus artifex. Namque supra pteron, pyramis, altitudine inferiorem æquavit, viginti quatuor gradibus in metæ cacumen se contrahens. In summo est quadriga marmorea, quam fecit Pythis. Hæc adjecta centum (*al.* centum quadraginta [15]) pedum altitudine totum opus includit.—Plin. H. N. 36, 59.

In this description it is evident, from the circumference of the whole monument, that the measurement

[15] According to Choiseul Gouffier, one of the MSS. of Pliny has C. instead of CXL. for the height of the entire monument. Vibius Sequester, or the author of the Seven Wonders of the World, ascribed to him, makes the height 180, and the circumference 400: the latter,

of 63 feet is the length of the cella, not of the peristyle. If the disposition of the thirty-six columns was ten on every side, the slight difference indicated by the words "brevius à frontibus" may have been effected by a small diminution of the intercolumniation on the two fronts: and this form of the entire building seems to accord with the pyramid on the summit, supposing it to have been of the same size as the cella, and resting upon its walls; for pyramids in general were very nearly square, though seldom an exact square.[16]

In a monument of Roman times at Mylasa, which, consisting of a high basement, a pteron, and a pyramid above the latter, seems to have been an humble imitation of the Mausoleium, we find that the sides are very nearly, but not precisely, equal.[17] The Harpageium, having been covered with a roof terminating in Aeti, and thus approaching more nearly in form

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differing not much from Pliny, favours the reading of the larger and generally received number for the height in preference to the smaller.

[16] By mistaking the length of the cella for that of the pteron, Caylus, Choiseul Gouffier, and M. Quatremère de Quincy, have produced designs for the restoration of the Mausoleium, of which the disagreeable effect is alone sufficient to prove that they are not true interpretations of Pliny. The words of the author, *brevius à frontibus*, may undoubtedly be interpreted as meaning something more than a "slight difference;" and, accordingly, Mr. R. Cockerell and Mr. T. L. Donaldson have proposed restorations of the Mausoleium involving a considerable difference between the length and breadth of the building. According to Mr. Cockerell's design, the building was *dipteral*, with six columns in the fronts, and eight on the sides. In Mr. Donaldson's, there are eight columns in the fronts, and ten on the sides.

[17] The measurements of this building are given by Choiseul Gouffier, tome i. Plate LXXXV. See also Pocock, ii. Part II. Plate LVI. Fellows' Discoveries in Lycia, p. 76.

to the temple, had a larger proportion of length to breadth, namely, as seven to five, though still very wide of the ordinary proportion of temples. There are some other points of resemblance between the Mausoleium and Harpageium in which they differed from temples. 1. The height of the basement, which has already been alluded to as a common characteristic of the sepulchral monuments of this part of Asia Minor. 2. The great breadth of the pteroma or ambulatory.

In the Mausoleium the pteroma is sufficiently shown to have been much greater in proportion to the cella than in temples, by the difference between the circuit of the tomb or cella and that of the whole edifice, which was 411 feet. The resemblances in the *two Mausoleia* render it not improbable that the tomb of Mausolus, like that of the family of Harpagus, was decorated with statues in the intervals of the columns, and that these statues formed a principal part of the works of the great masters named by Pliny, for which the former building was renowned: the following passage of Lucian seems to show, at the same time, that works in relief were also remarkable among them. In the Dialogues of the Dead (Dial. 24), Mausolus says to Diogenes,—

ἐν Ἁλικαρνασσῷ μνῆμα παμμέγεθες ἔχω ἐπικείμενον, ἡλίκον οὐκ ἄλλος νεκρὸς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐς κάλλος ἐξησκημένον, ἵππων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον εἰκασμένων, λίθου τοῦ καλλίστου, οἷον οὐδὲ νεὼν εὕρῃ τις ἂν ῥᾳδίως.

These words apply so exactly to the ancient sculptures which have been seen and admired by many travellers, in the walls of the Castle of Budrúm, the ancient Halicarnassus, as to leave little doubt that these marbles

once belonged to the Mausoleium, and are works consequently of Leochares, Bryaxis, Scopas, Timotheus, or Praxiteles.[18] And there are other reasons in favour of this opinion.

Frequent allusions to the Mausoleium as one of the Seven Wonders of the World, and as still existing, occur in history from the time of Strabo[19] as late as the twelfth century, particularly in the second by Pausanias,[20] in the latter end of the fourth by Gregory of Nazianzus,[21] by Constantine Porphyrogennetus in the tenth,[22] and again in the twelfth by Eustathius, who says of it, *Θαῦμα καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐστί*.[23] At what time it fell to ruin cannot easily be ascertained, for it may still have been noted as one of the Seven Wonders after it was in that state: we can hardly doubt that it was so in the year 1404, when the Knights of Rhodes built the present castle, which stands on the site of a part of the ancient Halicarnassus, and to which they gave the name of the Castle of San Pietro or Pedro, whence perhaps the Turkish Budrúm. It is expressly stated by a Rhodian of that time, that a German Knight, named Henry Schlegelholt, who was employed in building this fortress, made use of the materials of the Mausoleium.[24]

During the possession of Rhodes and Halicarnassus by the Knights, the Castle of St. Peter was twice repaired, once by the Grandmaster D'Aubusson in 1480,[25]

[18] Praxiteles is mentioned by Vitruvius, præf. 1, 7.

[19] Strabo, p. 656.

[20] Arcad. 16, 3 (4).

[21] Gregor. Nazianz. Epigr. 17.

[22] Constant. Porph. de Thematibus, 1, 14.

[23] Eustath. in Hom. Il. Φ. v. 256.

[24] Jacobus Rhodius, l. 2, p. 158, in Chronicis Turcicis Philippi Loniceri, l. 2.

[25] On this occasion the Knights sent missionaries into Christendom

when the Turks made an unsuccessful attempt upon Rhodes, and again in the year 1522, when Rhodes was taken by them. It would seem, therefore, that on one of these occasions; or at the time of the original construction, the Knights, when converting the remains of the Mausoleium into ordinary building materials, had sufficient respect for ancient art to preserve some of the sculptures by fixing them in the walls, as would have been done in Italy or any other part of Europe in the same times. Certainly it was not an act of Turks, or the result of one of their repairs.

De la Tourette, a knight, who after the loss of Rhodes retired to France, reported that at the last repair a chamber was discovered underground, containing columns and sculptures of battles in white marble.[26] This chamber had previously, perhaps, been buried under the ruins of the monument.

From a comparison of Strabo and Vitruvius, it seems evident that the Castle of St. Peter occupied the site of the *Acropolis* of Halicarnassus, in the centre of which stood a temple of Mars, and on the side towards the harbour the palace of Mausolus, built of brick

to solicit succours. A letter is extant of King Edward IV., addressed to the bishops and other men in authority in Ireland, in favour of John Kendal and his surrogates, who had arrived in England with letters from the Pope, for the purpose of obtaining aid for the defence of Christianity against the Turks in Rhodes, some of the adjacent islands, and *the Castle of St. Peter*. (Rymer's Fœdera, a°. 1480.) This fortress is described under the same name by Corialano Cepione or Cippico, Commander of the Dalmatian ships in the expedition under Pietro Mocenigo, in the year 1473.—Cor. Cepio, de P. Moncenici Gestis, Venetiis, 1477, l. i. p. 17; or the Italian translation, Vinitia, 1570, p. 8.

[26] Claude Guichard, Funerailles des Romains, des Grecs, &c. Lyon, 4°. 1581. Mém. de l'Institut Imperial, ii. p. 576.

faced with Proconnesian marble.[27] The Mausoleium occupied a low situation, if we may rely on the evidence of Eudocia, who in the eleventh century, but deriving her information apparently from a writer of much older date, describes it as having been built by Mausolus upon a height in a marsh or lagoon (*ἐν χώματί τινι καὶ ἐν λιμναζούσῃ λίμνῃ*).[28]

W. M. L.

Rev. R. Cattermole.

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[27] Strabo, p. 656.—Vitruv. 2, 8. Compare the plan of Budrúm in Beaufort's Caramania, p. 89.

[28] Eudoc. Ionia, *περὶ Μαυσώλου*, ap. Villoison. Anecdota Græca, 1. p. 286.

V.—ON A PASSAGE IN THE MEMOIRS OF THE NUNCIO RINUCCINI.

LETTER FROM HENRY HALLAM, ESQ. TO THE SECRETARY.

(Read June 13, 1844.)

Wilton Crescent, June 11, 1844.

My dear Sir,

A publication which has lately fallen into my hands, entitled 'Nunziatura in Irlanda di Monsignor Gio. Batista Rinuccini, Arciviscovo di Fermo, negli anni 1645 a 1649, pubblicata per la prima volta sui MSS. originali della Rinucciniana per cura di G. Aiazzi, Firenze, 1844,' contains a passage, which, as it conveys an unfounded charge against one of our late valued members, it seems proper to notice in this place. In the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' vol. ii. part II., Mr. Roscoe has given an account of the manuscripts at Holkham, belonging to the late Earl of Leicester. In this we find, at page 358, the following passage:

"To these materials for ecclesiastical history may be added the extensive and very important collection of documents known by the name of 'The Nuncio's Memoirs,' and comprised in eight large folio volumes, under the title of 'Joannis Baptistæ Rinuccini, de Hæresis Anglicanæ intrusione et progressu, et de Bello Catholico ad annum 1641 cœpto, exindeque per aliquot annos gesto, Commentarius.' Rinuccini was Archbishop of Fermo, and was the nuncio or legate

sent by Innocent X. in the year 1645 to the Catholics in Ireland. His character is given at length in Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, vol. i. p. 558; and a particular and candid account of his conduct in Ireland may be found in Mr. Butler's 'Memoirs of the Catholics,' vol. ii. pp. 375 et seq.; where he says, 'The disastrous result of his (Rinuccini's) nunciature, and the reception which he met with at Rome, affected him so much, that in a short time afterwards he died of grief.' Mr. Carte, in reference to this collection, and to Lord Leicester, by whom it was added to the Holkham library, says, in the preface to his History, p. 5, 'I was allowed the perusal of this work by a noble Peer of this realm, who, in his travels to Italy and other foreign countries, collected this, with a great many valuable manuscripts of great use in the commonwealth of learning, and which he is very free of communicating for the good of the public. I have had frequent occasion of quoting this collection, for many particulars which would not otherwise have come to light, as will appear by the references thereto in the course of this history.'

"Amongst several other works relating to the commotions in Ireland, this library contains a translation into Latin of the report of Rinuccini, written by him in Italian, on his return from his mission. From a minute in the handwriting of the translator, it appears this translation was made at Florence in the year 1666, from a copy preserved amongst the papers of the Archbishop." This is all that Mr. Roscoe has said on the subject.

The recent work of Signor Aiazzi is stated by him to contain the letters which Rinuccini wrote "to the court of Rome and other distinguished persons, during

his nunciature, from April, 1645, to July, 1649, and also the report in which, after his return, he gave an account to the Pope of what he had done for the benefit of the Catholic religion in Ireland. This correspondence," he proceeds, "was, in 1670, transcribed from the originals by the care of Thomas, brother of the Nuncio, in order to be printed, together with the history of the war that took place from 1641 to 1649." To this sentence the following note is appended:

"Among the manuscripts of the Rinuccini library is found the work here mentioned, with the title 'De Hæresis Anglicanæ in Iberniam intrusione et progressu, et de Bello Catholico ad annum 1641 cœpto, exindeque per aliquot annos gesto, Commentarius,' which is divided into six folio volumes, with a single numeration of pages from 1 to 2666. Of this history there exists a copy in the library of Lord Leicester, at Holkham in England, as appears by the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' vol. ii. part II. p. 358, London, 1834, where it is falsely ascribed to Monsignor Rinuccini; and I say falsely, because, towards the end, the author declares that he compiled it in 1666 at Florence, from the registers and authentic documents which the Nuncio had collected, in order to write it himself, if death had not prevented him."

A comparison of this note with the passage above quoted from our 'Transactions,' will show how lightly and unwarrantably the charge of a false statement has been brought against Mr. Roscoe. There is not a word which intimates that the Latin history known by the name of 'The Nuncio's Memoirs,' an appellation long since bestowed upon it by Dr. Birch, was mis-

taken by Mr. Roscoe for the work by the Nuncio himself. Nothing is referred to him, but the Italian report to the Pope, of which a translation into Latin exists at Holkham, and the original of which is now first published by Signor Aiazzi.

But while this editor has through precipitation wholly misunderstood a very plain passage in our 'Transactions,' he has showed himself ignorant that a very large proportion of the letters which he has now published, and, I may add, a great deal more from the same sources, has been perfectly known in England for nearly a century. The work called 'The Nuncio's Memoirs,' that is, the Latin history, compiled by some unknown person after his death, appears to contain, textually, the translations of all the letters, the originals of which are now for the first time published. To this Holkham manuscript, Carte had access; and he has made great use of it in his Life of the Duke of Ormonde. Dr. Birch had recourse to the same authority in his celebrated 'Inquiry into the share which King Charles I. had in the transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan,' the first edition of which appeared in 1747. The letters of Rinuccini to the court of Rome form the basis of this work; and by comparison of Dr. Birch's 'Inquiry' with the publication of Signor Aiazzi, I think myself enabled to state two facts: first, that the representation given by our diligent countryman of what he found in the Latin memoirs is abundantly confirmed by the Italian originals; and secondly, that many documents of importance, and concerning the genuineness of which there can be no reasonable doubt, have not, for whatever reason, found a place in the recent collection of the latter. I must, however, observe on the other hand, that many pas-

sages, now published for the first time, are curiously illustrative of that portion of history; and it will be highly convenient for all, who shall hereafter investigate the proceedings of the Irish Catholics at that juncture, to make use of the pages of Aiazzi as well as those of Birch.

The conduct of Rinuccini, as fully developed in this volume, seems by no means to warrant the censure which Carte, whom Leland implicitly follows, has lavished upon him. In the opinion of these writers, his only duty was to sustain the cause of Charles I. by the arms of the confederate Irish, without stickling for any conditions on behalf of them or of their religion. All jealousy or distrust of Ormonde, though they knew him to be their inveterate enemy, was to be laid aside; all confidence was to be reposed in the King, without any promise, though they had good reason not to confide in the strongest promises he could make. Rinuccini, as Nuncio from the see of Rome, took a different view, and, if we look with ordinary impartiality, was perfectly justified in doing so. It was to him, and to those who sent him, a matter of no importance whatever, whether Charles I. or the English Parliament obtained the ascendant, except so far as it might affect the interests of the Romish religion and its professors in both islands. And, though the conjecture which he once throws out, that the success of the parliamentary forces might be, on the whole, more favourable to the Catholic interests than those of the royalists, seems preposterous to Leland, and was undoubtedly falsified by ensuing events, he was influenced by the belief that the King, in spite of all his intrigues through Glamorgan, would abandon the Irish, and give way to any measures of severity

towards them, if he saw a prospect of recovering any part of his prerogative by a treaty with the Houses of Parliament. This apprehension was not very unreasonable, when, on the accidental detection of Glamorgan's secret treaty concluded at Kilkenny, the King positively and publicly denied that he had given him any commission which could warrant his proceedings. "If this declaration," says Rinuccini, (p. 118, March 21, 1646,) "is genuine, and not a forgery of the Puritans, we must infer that the letter written by the King to the Earl, which I sent on the 15th to your Eminence, is either not genuine, or deceitful, agreeably to the inconstancy (incostanza) which all admit to be the character of this Prince."

The unfortunate quality here justly denominated 'inconstancy' displayed itself, as is well known, through this negotiation of Charles with the Irish. The full toleration of their religion, and, still more, the legal enjoyment of all churches and ecclesiastical houses actually in their possession, which Glamorgan, in execution of the full powers in his commission, promised that the King should grant, could by no possibility have been obtained from any Protestant Parliament, were it wholly of the royal party. Nor could Charles have been ignorant of this; yet he endeavoured to lure the Irish into sending a large force to his aid, leaving it to the course of events whether he should by this means triumph over both his own and the parliamentary party, or sacrifice his auxiliaries as the price of a treaty: for one of these alternatives was, apparently, inevitable.

In the first interview of Glamorgan with Rinuccini, at Kilkenny, near the end of December, 1645, he produced two patents, in which the King gave him "the

fullest authority to conclude peace with the Irish, on such terms as shall please the said Earl;" and a letter from the King, addressed to the Nuncio, requesting him to confide in Glamorgan, and to be assured that whatever he should engage for the King should be fully performed. This letter, which is in French, has been published by Birch, ('Inquiry,' p. 28,) and is now reprinted by Signor Aiazzi. But, besides these, Glamorgan delivered to the Nuncio a sealed letter, from Charles to the Pope, addressed on the outside, "Beatissimo Patri Innocentio Decimo." The contents of this letter were unknown to Rinuccini, and consequently to Birch; nor does the present volume, of course, enable us to do more than conjecture that it was virtually of the same import as that to the Nuncio. I am however enabled, by the kindness of Mr. Hamilton, to lay before the Society a copy of this remarkable document, of which he possesses a traced facsimile from the original, discovered some years since in the Vatican by a distinguished foreigner. Of its authenticity no possible doubt can be entertained; and though it would have been more important while a controversy existed as to the real connexion of Charles with the negotiations of Glamorgan, it must always be a highly interesting document in our history. It is accompanied by another letter, addressed to Cardinal Spada.

"Beatissime Pater,

"Tot tantaque testimonia fidelitatis et affectus consanguinei nostri Comitis Glamorganiæ jamdudum accepimus, eamque in illo fiduciam merito reponimus, ut Sanctitas vestra ei fidem merito præbere poscit in quacunque re, de qua vel per se vel per alium nostro

nomine cum San^te^ vestra tractaturus sit, quæcunque vero ab ipso certo statuta fuerint, ea munire et confirmare pollicemur. In cujus rei testimonium brevissimas has scripsimus manu et sigillo munitas, qui nihil magis habemus in votis, quam ut favore vestro, in eum statum redigamur, quo palam profiteamur nos

"Sanctitatis vestræ
"Humilimum et obedientissimum Servum,
"CHARLES R.

"Apud curiam nostram
"Oxoniæ, Octob. 20, 1645."

"Eminentissime Domine,—Pauca scripsimus B^mo^ Patri de fide adhibenda consanguineo nostro Comiti Glamorganiæ vel cuilibet ab eo delegato, quem ut Eminen^a^ V^a^ pariter omni favore prosequatur, rogamus; certoque credat nos ratum habituros, quicquid a predicto Comite, vel suo Delegato cum Sanct^mo^ Patre, vel Eminen^a^ V^a^ transactum fuerit.

"Eminen^æ^ V^æ^
"Fidelissimus Amicus,
"CHARLES R.

"Apud curiam nostram
"Oxoniæ, Octob. 20, 1645."

"Eminentissimo Domino et Consanguineo nostro Domino Cardinali Spada."

It has been suggested to me as rather singular, that Charles dates these letters from Oxford on the 20th of October, whereas he was then at Newark, and did not arrive at Oxford till the 5th of November. I cannot account for this, except by supposing that, Oxford being as it were his capital, he did not like to lie

under the suspicion, in the eyes of a foreign potentate, that he had been driven from it.

The concluding words of the King's letter, wherein he hopes, by the aid of Innocent, to be restored to such a condition, "that he may openly confess himself the humble and obedient servant of his Holiness," would have been startling enough, in the seventeenth century, to many staunch admirers of his character. But they are, in fact, not much stronger than the language he had used, in circumstances of less pressing embarrassment, when he wrote to Gregory XV., in order to obtain a dispensation for his marriage with the Infanta. Of this letter to Gregory XV., I have said, in another place, what may be repeated as to the present, addressed to Innocent X., that "it is written with the precautions of a veteran in dissimulation; and, while it is full of what might raise expectation, contains no special pledge that he could be called on to redeem. But it was rather presumptuous to hope that he could foil the subtlest masters of artifice with their own weapons." (Constitut. Hist. of England, chap. vii.)

I remain, my dear Sir,
Very faithfully, &c.
HENRY HALLAM.

Rev. R. Cattermole.

VI.—A CONSIDERATION OF WESSELING'S OBJECTIONS TO THE OPINION THAT THE CITY NAMED CADYTIS BY HERODOTUS WAS JERUSALEM.

BY HENRY HOLLAND, ESQ.

(Read Feb. 27th, 1845.)

THERE are two passages in Herodotus in which a city named by him Cadytis is introduced. The first is in the Euterpe, cap. 159 of Wesseling's edition. "Nechos, discontinuing his works on the canal, turned his thoughts to military enterprises; he built ships of war both on the Northern sea and on the Arabian gulf of the Erythræan sea: the docks which he used are yet plainly visible. These ships he employed on various occasions, and in an expedition by land he engaged and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus, and after the battle took (*Κάδυτις*) Cadytis, a great city of Syria."—The other passage is in the Thalia, cap. 4 and 5. "He (Phanes) went to Cambyses, who was then meditating an invasion of Egypt, and deliberating how he should effect the passage of his army through a country in which no water was to be found. He informed him of many particulars relating to the affairs of Amasis, and gave him advice respecting his expedition, recommending that he should treat with the king of Arabia for a safe passage of the troops, as the only clear way which was open for entering

Egypt lay through his dominions: that the territory extending from Phœnicia to the mountains (or borders, *οὔρων*) of Cadytis belonged to the Syrians of Palestine; that from Cadytis, a city, in my opinion, not much less than Sardis, the emporia (trading towns) near (or towards) the sea as far as Ienysus were subject to the king of Arabia; from Ienysus the country was again Syrian as far as the Serbonian lake, along which runs Mount Casius extending to the sea: after which Egypt begins."

The name by which the modern Arabs call Jerusalem is Al Kads, 'The Holy,' according to Major Rennell: Pococke says it was called Kudes-Sheriff, 'The Holy and Noble.' Sandys, as well as the recent traveller Robinson, gives the name Al Kuds. Dropping the Arabic article prefixed, this name, according to either way of spelling it, will appear sufficiently near to the Greek *Κάδυτις* to justify a supposition that it is the same name as that which Herodotus received, as that of Jerusalem, from the inhabitants of the country with whom he conversed, and which he, with such alteration of spelling as was usual with the Greeks, expressed by the word *Κάδυτις*. Accordingly it has been the opinion of many learned men, and particularly of our countrymen Dr. Prideaux and Major Rennell, and of the celebrated French geographer D'Anville, that the Cadytis of Herodotus was Jerusalem. Dr. Prideaux says (Connection, Part 1. Book 1.) that "Herodotus, making mention of the expedition of Necho, and also of the battle that he fought at Megiddo (or Magdolus, as he called it), saith, that after the victory there obtained by him he took the great city Cadytis, which city he afterwards describes to be a mountainous city of Palestine, of the bigness of Sardis

in Lydia, the chief city of all Lesser Asia in those times. By which description this city Cadytis could be no other than Jerusalem: for that is situated in the mountains of Palestine, and there was then no other city in those parts which could be equalled to Sardis, but that only. And it is certain from Scripture that after the battle Necho did take Jerusalem, for he was there when he made Jehoiakim king.—2 Chron. xxxvi. 4."

Major Rennell says (Geography of Herodotus, p. 245), "The city of Jerusalem he (Herodotus) names Cadytis, doubtless meant for the Arabian name Al Kads, 'The Holy.'"

D'Anville (Géographie Ancienne, under the head Palæstina)[1] says, "C'est (Jerusalem) Cadytis dans Herodote, qui dit que cette ville fut prise par Nechos roi d'Egypte, comme en effet on voit dans les livres saints Nechos faire des actes de souveraineté dans Jérusalem. Son emplacement occupait plusieurs collines, &c. [2] Cette ville porte chez les Arabes les titres de Beït-el-makdés, de Kads-shérif, c'est a dire de maison de sanctuaire, de sainte par excellence, et ce dernier titre est exprimé par le nom de Cadytis, rapporté ci-dessus."

On the other hand, opposed to these high authorities is that of Wesseling, the learned commentator on Herodotus, who, in a note on the passage of the Thalia, gives his opinion that Cadytis was not Jerusalem; and it is of such weight, that it would be presumptuous to question it, were it not balanced by that of the eminent writers who have been named. The following is a translation of the note in question. "Sidon and Tyre

[1] Tom. ii. p. 160. [2] Ibid. p. 161.

were almost the last places in Phœnicia, after which followed Palestine of Syria, extending along the coast of the Mediterranean sea as far as Egypt. (*Τῆς Συρίης τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πᾶν Παλαιστίνη καλέεται.*) 'This part of Syria, and onwards as far as Egypt, all bears the name of Palestine.' And the same thing is said in another passage. (*Ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης*) 'From Phœnicia that shore extends along the sea (*παρά τε Συρίην τὴν Παλαιστίνην καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐς τὴν τελευτᾷ*, &c.) by the Syrian Palestine and Egypt, in which it ends.' (iv. 30.) So much concerning the maritime tract of country generally: here he explains more particularly under what governments it was. From Phœnicia to the borders of the city Cadytis (*μέχρι οὔρων* has been erroneously translated 'as far as the mountains,' as H. Stephanus and Gronovius justly remarked,) the country was said to be possessed by the Syrians of Palestine: beyond this the emporia by the sea (for *ἐπὶ* is the true reading) as far as Ienysus belonged to the Arabian king (*τοῦ Ἀραβίου*): thence again as far as the Serbonian lake all belonged to the Syrians of Palestine. So far, I think, is clear and true; and hence it appears that Cadytis and Jerusalem were widely different. The former was situated in a maritime and Philistine region; the latter more remote from the sea, on the inland mountains of Judæa. And who ever called Jerusalem *Κάδυτις*? Some most learned men, with whom I was once disposed to agree, have said that it was 'The Holy,' and that the name *Κάδυτις* was derived from a word of that signification. But, admitting that the Jews esteemed and called the metropolis of their religion 'Holy,' can we believe that the Philistines, and other neighbouring nations, who bore the greatest hatred to the Jews, did the same?"—Some

critical remarks then follow on the word from which *Κάδυτις* is supposed to be derived; after which he adds, "A question of great difficulty now remains, to select among the cities of that tract one which agrees with the description of *Κάδυτις*: for Cades Barnea, which was named by Scaliger and Perizonius, being situated in an inland part of Arabia too remote from the sea, cannot be reckoned among them. Gaza, which was named by Toussaint in his Dissertation, would be suitable if the name agreed. Gath of the Philistines, whence *Κάδτις* and *Κάδυτις* may have been formed, was not ill alleged by Reland. For my part, I must end with the old form, N. L."[3]

The chief argument adduced in this note to show that Cadytis could not be Jerusalem, is, that the former was by the sea-side, and the latter inland. But this is no where said by Herodotus. Wesseling proceeds on a supposition, for which no ground is alleged, that his author had in view only the maritime tract extending from Phœnicia to Egypt, and intended to explain how the different parts of it were occupied and governed; and, as Cadytis was included in his description, he thinks it must have been a maritime place. But, as he had said in the passages quoted in the note, that that whole tract belonged to the Syrians of Palestine, the emporia, which he says were subject to the king of Arabia, could not have been part of it. If they were not on the coast, then why must we suppose Cadytis to have been so? The word *ἐμπόριον* does not necessarily mean a port of trade, though it is used in that sense, perhaps, most frequently. It is rendered Forum nundinarium in Stephens's Thesaurus; it has the same

[3] Herodotus Wesselingii, pp. 195, 196.

meaning as the modern word Entrepôt, which is derived from it, and is applicable to inland places of trade as well as maritime, as is proved by the following passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (Antiq. Rom. vii. 20,) *Ἐκ τῶν παραθαλαττίων τε καὶ μεσογείων ἐμπορίων σῖτον ὠνησάμενοι κατήγαγον δημοσίᾳ*,—'Having purchased corn both from maritime and inland markets, they brought it into the public stores.' Nor does *ἐπὶ θαλάσσης* necessarily mean 'by the sea-side;' it may mean 'near to' or 'towards the sea;' the preposition *ἐπὶ* with a genitive often bearing that sense, as appears from passages collected by the lexicographers, as *ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης*, 'near to Thrace;' *ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου*, 'towards the left,' &c.

It will be recollected that Cambyses had consulted Phanes respecting his intended invasion of Egypt, and that Phanes had advised him to treat with the king of Arabia to allow a safe passage for the army through his territory. All the country, he says, from Phœnicia to Cadytis belongs to the Syrians of Palestine; beyond that (viz. towards the south) the trading places near the sea are in the hands of the Arabians. On the south of Judæa lay Arabia Petræa, comprising Idumæa, then subject to the king of Arabia. This was the ancient Edom, once subject to the kings of Judah, but which had thrown off their yoke about 800 years before Christ, and during the Babylonish Captivity had encroached far upon the territory of Judah; but this country, subject to Arabian government, could not have extended as far as the Mediterranean on the west, as we have seen that Herodotus assigns the whole coast of that sea, from Phœnicia as far as Egypt, to the Syrians of Palestine. These emporia must have been in that territory, bordering probably

on the desert, where it approached the nearest to the Mediterranean; and this fact it was of importance to Cambyses to know, because his army, which was to cross the desert, might hope to obtain supplies from these places. Major Rennell places Ienysus on the Syrian edge of the desert.

If no argument can be drawn from the words of Herodotus to prove that Cadytis was by the sea-side, neither do they afford any reason for concluding that it was not situated in a mountainous country. Most of the translators render the word *οὔρων* 'mountains,' and if that is correct, the words *μέχρι οὔρων Κάδυτιος* would afford an argument in favour of its being Jerusalem: but, admitting that Wesseling is right in saying that it ought to be rendered 'borders,' (though that word seems more applicable to the limits of a territory than the precincts of a city,) it will only follow that no argument can be drawn from the word in favour of that supposition; they furnish none against it.

Another argument urged by Wesseling is, that it is improbable that the Philistines, and other neighbouring nations, who hated the Jews, should have given the name of 'Holy' to their city. He asks too, Who ever called Jerusalem by the name of Cadytis?

But the fact is certain, that the Arabs and Syrians now call it by a name as nearly resembling Cadytis as the native names of places usually resemble those which the Greeks assign them when transferred to their writings. This appears by the reports of travellers both ancient and modern. The name is certainly not found in the Holy Scriptures, or in Josephus; but Herodotus must have received the name from the Arabs or Syrians with whom he conversed: later writers, when the Jews were more

known, and their sacred books translated into Greek, adopted the name by which the city is called in those books and by the Jewish people themselves. Whether the term Kads or Kuds signified 'Holy,' is not strictly a point in the question: but if we consider how much the building of the temple by Solomon must have excited the attention of all the surrounding people; how they must have flocked to Jerusalem to see it, and watched its progress; and how deeply the greater part of them must have been affected by the splendid as well as solemn service established after its completion; it will not seem improbable that the name of 'Holy' should have been given by general consent to the city in which that temple stood, and have passed into common use; especially as the national animosities, alluded to by Wesseling, may have been suspended or mitigated during the pacific reign of Solomon.

It may seem strange that Herodotus, who inquired so diligently into the manners, ancient customs, and history of the nations he visited, should be silent respecting those of Jerusalem, if he were acquainted with them. Major Rennell thinks that he visited that city; but his words, in speaking of its extent, compared with that of Sardis, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, 'in my opinion,' seem to imply that he formed his judgment from the report of others rather than from his own observation. With Sardis we know that he was well acquainted. The territory possessed by the Jews at that time, after the Babylonish Captivity, was very circumscribed; they had probably been little heard of by the Greeks. Herodotus could not have understood the language of the Holy Scriptures, nor that which was current among the Jews of that age; he had no

means, therefore, of becoming acquainted with their early history; and false and disparaging accounts had probably reached him of their religious worship, such as appear in the writings of Roman historians of a later period. He could not therefore expect that their affairs would offer any matter to reward his researches and interest his countrymen, like those of the great kingdoms of Babylon and Egypt. Their real importance it was beyond his power to discover, as is justly and beautifully remarked by Major Rennell in the following passage. "No man was a truer friend to the interests of the human race than Herodotus: had he therefore been endowed with a prophetic spirit, to have foreseen that from Palestine there was to arise a light to guide the footsteps of men to the highest state of happiness that this world affords, by humanizing them and making them fitter for the purposes of society,—and, moreover, by giving them hopes of a better state hereafter,—he would have thought it a spot of much more importance than he attaches to it."[4]

After an attentive review of the objections of Wesseling, they do not appear forcible enough to induce a departure from the judgments of Dr. Prideaux, Major Rennell, and D'Anville, besides those of the many "viri eruditissimi" with whom Wesseling once agreed, and from whom afterwards differing, he was himself able to come to no other conclusion than the ancient formulary of doubt,—non liquet.

[4] Geography of Herodotus, p. 247.

VII.—INEDITED NOTICES RELATING TO SOME EARLY WRITERS ON THE COMPOTUS.

BY T. WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A.

(Read March 27, 1844.)

Compotus (not written *Computus*, which would have been the more natural form of the word,) was the name given in the middle ages to what was considered the most important branch of astronomical science while learning was monopolized by the Romish church. It was closely allied to the science of modern almanack-makers, its object being to calculate the times and seasons of the year, and more particularly of the moveable festivals of the church, by the motions of the sun and the moon;[1] and it was carefully distinguished from astrology, a science answering nearly to our present notion of the objects of astronomy, which was always regarded by the church with suspicion, and was too often obscured by the superstitions to which that name has been restricted in modern times. The knowledge of the compotus was necessary to every priest in an age when there were no almanacks, and when an error in the time of observation of the

[1] Compotus est scientia commensurandi tempora mediis motibus solis et lunæ. MS. Cotton. Vitellius A. xii. fol. 84, r°. Notitia cursus lunæ ac kalendarum, seu scientia certificandi tempus secundum solis et lunæ progressum. Durandi Rational. lib. viii. c. 1.

church festivals was looked upon as a heresy which involved fearful consequences. Errors which arose in course of time from the inaccuracies of the Julian computation of the year then in use, and other causes, sometimes occupied the attention of the more profound compotists (as they were called), and gave rise to new treatises on the science, in which those of preceding writers were corrected and modified. The most celebrated of the older writers on the Compotus were Dionysius Exiguus, whose Tables were in the highest repute; Bede at the beginning of the eighth, Helperic in the tenth, and Gerland in the eleventh centuries. The history of these two latter writers is involved in so much obscurity, and they hold so distinguished a position in the history of medieval science, that I think it will not be totally without interest to bring together a few inedited notices relating to them.

The treatise of Helperic on the Compotus appears, from the number of copies which still remain in manuscript, to have been extremely popular. It was printed, though not from a good manuscript, by Pez, in his Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, vol. ii. Part II. p. 42. Sigebert of Gembloux states that Helperic was a monk of St. Gall, but he must have been mistaken, for Helperic himself, in an epistle to Asper, dean of the Abbey of St. Germain at Auxerre,[2] informs us that he was a monk of the Abbey of Grandfel or Grandval in Upper Alsace. It appears from this letter that Asper had invited Helperic to quit Grandfel and establish himself at Auxerre,—that the latter had refused to listen to the solicitations of his friend, and

[2] Found in one or two of the earlier manuscripts, and printed by Mabillon, Annal. Bened. tom. i. p. 113.

that he had subsequently undergone persecutions in his own monastery, which had given him reason to repent of his former resolution. We further learn, from the commencement of his Treatise on the Compotus, that he had a school at Grandfel, and that at the request of his scholars he had put into writing his oral instructions. It was the desire expressed by Asper to have a copy of this book, which called for the letter just mentioned. The date at which Helperic flourished, the country to which he belonged, and even the correct form of his name, are subjects of great uncertainty. The writers of the Histoire Littéraire de France, who have devoted an article to this writer in their sixth volume, pp. 397—403, tell us that in different manuscripts the name is spelt *Helperic*, *Hilperic*, *Elpric*, *Hilpric*, *Hilderic*, and *Chilperic*. *Helperic* or *Hilperic* would, in fact, be the same Frankish name which we are accustomed to call *Chilperic*. Helperic gives us, in one chapter of his book, a calculation of the date of the year in which he compiled it,[3] but it varies much in different manuscripts. Those examined by the author of the article in the Histoire Littéraire de France, give respectively the years 975, 980, 1005, 1020, and 1090, the later being that of the text published by Pez. To these I can add the following variations of name and date from manuscripts in the British Museum. The Arundel MS., No. 343, fol. 5, contains the prologue and first chapter of the book, with the title, *Incipit prologus Alperici monachi*. In MS. Cotton. Vespas. A. ix., written apparently early in the twelfth century, the date is

[3] In the edition of Pez, the passage containing the date stands thus—Adde semper illius de quo quæris indictionem, sicut hoc anno xiii., et fient mille xc. Isti sunt anni ab incarnatione Domini. c. 23.

1131 (fol. 13, r°.); in MS. Reg. 12, F. II. (fol. 13, v°.), it is 978; in MS. Arundel. No. 356 (fol. 11, r°.), it is 1090, as in Pez; and in MS. Harl. No. 5325 (fol. 32, r°.), written in the eleventh century, it is 1030. I am surprised that it never struck the writers of the Histoire Littéraire that these dates were those of the manuscripts, rather than of the author, and that for the latter they ought rather to take the earliest than (as they have done) the mean. It is well known that in anonymous calculations in manuscripts, the year given as an example is almost invariably that in which the manuscript was written. We should not in general look for the same practice in manuscripts of a writer of authority, but this would depend very much upon the copyist, and it is by no means surprising that a person employed in teaching or studying the subject, and nowise interested in the date at which his text-book was written, should insert the year in which he was copying it. It is evident, however, that this was not always the case, for while the writing of several of the manuscripts agrees perfectly with the date contained in them, in others it is evidently more modern, and they have therefore been copied verbatim from a manuscript of the date they bear. Having made this observation, I have to state that there is another MS. of Helperic in the British Museum (MS. Sloane, No. 263), written, I think, in the tenth century, the only one I have seen containing the Epistle to Asper, *Incipit epistola Helperici monachi ad Asperum patrem:* in this manuscript (fol. 8, v°.) the date is distinctly stated to be 903, which places the age of the writer at a much earlier period than has hitherto been supposed. I imagine, from the vague manner in which Asper is mentioned in the Histoire Littéraire, that the date at

which he lived is unknown. When we consider that the manuscripts of this treatise which contain the letter to Asper must have been derived from that sent by Helperic to Auxerre, and not from those which were in common circulation, I think we may be justified in supposing that the year 903 was the date of Helperic's letter. It may be further observed, with respect to the variations of his name, that Gerland calls this writer *Ulpricus*.

Gerland has been considered by all our bibliographers as an Englishman, and I have introduced him as such into the second volume of the 'Biographia Literaria,' because I then knew no good reasons for rejecting the old opinion. A letter which I have recently received from M. Chasles, but which arrived too late to be of any use for our Biographical work, first gave me reasons to doubt its accuracy, and with the hope of obtaining some further light on the subject, I have examined all the anonymous tracts on the Compotus among the manuscripts in the British Museum. The prologue to an anonymous treatise on the subject in MS. Reg. 2 D. vi. (fol. 141, r°.), contains the following passage.

> Inter catholicos Dionisius, abbas Romanus, prius in hac scientia viguit, qui eam celeberrime edocens, tabulas ad inveniendos terminos depinxit. Deinde Elpericus, abbas Anglicus, huic scientiæ multa adjecit. Postmodum Beda de hac arte tractatum composuit. Ad ultimum Gerlandus, Latoringiæ oriundus, de hac scientia multa disseruit, qui tres prædictos viros catholicos in multis nimis audacter asseruit oberrasse. Cujus doctrinam omittens ecclesia, tum quia tribus catholicis viris ita audacter contradixit, tum quia ejus doctrina nimis difficilis erat et obscura, potius tres prædictos viros in observatione hujus artis, hujus scientiæ sequitur.

In another anonymous treatise in a manuscript written early in the thirteenth century (MS. Cotton. Vitellius A. xii. fol. 98, r°.), we have a similar statement.

Inter ecclesiasticos autem viros Dionisius, abbas quidam Romanus, cc^tis^ xxxii^bus^ annis post adventum Christi artem hanc exposuit, et tabulam inde composuit. Cui Beda succedens, quædam ab eo dicta correxit, tabulamque composuit. Deinde Helpricus, abbas quidam Anglorum, videns a præfatis edita in quibusdam vacillare, studio omnium adhibito plura ab eis correxit. Postremo Gerlandus, in confinio Galliæ et Alemanniæ oriundus, præfatos viros in quibusdam errasse confidenter asseruit, qui ecclesiæ volens subvenire, quædam a prioribus dicta subtilissimis arguens rationibus libellum cum tabula super hac scientia composuit. Hanc itaque prædictorum doctrinam in hac scientia conservare consuevit, Gerlandi omittens laborem, tum quia obscure et nimis difficulter tractavit, tum quia longo usui ecclesiæ in quibusdam obviavit.

A long treatise of a somewhat later date, by John de Brunswick, contained in a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris (MSS. Latins, No. 7422), contains the following passage, communicated to me by M. Chasles.

Prædictis autem tribus compotistæ plurimi successerunt, videlicet Dionisius abbas Romanus, Beda suus secutor, Hilpericus abbas Anglicus, Gerlandus in confinio Galliæ et Theutoniæ oriundus, et magister Jo. de Sacrobosco Anglicus. Post hos autem venerunt plures alii compotistæ famosi.

Finally, a passage of another long treatise on the Compotus, contained in the manuscript last quoted, the communication of which also I owe to M. Chasles, gives the following information.

Dionisius, quidam Romanus abbas, compilationem de ista scientia edidit. . . . Post illum Beda, universitatis Parisiensis fundator et institutor, considerans Dyonisium incomplete tractavisse scientiam istam . . . tabulas similiter composuit. Post Bedam, Elpericus, quidam Anglorum abbas, eamdem scientiam sicut Beda in pluribus emendavit. Novissimus autem omnium istorum Garlandus, in confinio Galliæ et Germaniæ oriundus, &c.

The first of these writers knew so little of the period at which Helperic lived, that he places him before Bede. They all agree in calling him an Englishman

and an abbot; so that we may probably consider him as one of the many Anglo-Saxon scholars who visited France in the ninth and tenth centuries. The persecutions which he appears to have suffered in the abbey of Grandfel may have arisen from jealousies towards a stranger. Yet his name has more of a Frankish than of an Anglo-Saxon form.

The unanimity of these writers seems to leave little doubt that Gerland was a native of Lorraine. I have fixed his date by satisfactory evidence in the latter part of the eleventh century; but I never understood why, his name being so frequently mentioned and his Table not uncommon, his treatise on the Compotus should be so extremely rare, for I know only of one copy, which is preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Vespas. A. ix. This, however, is fully explained by the passages cited above. We know, from the history of the fierce disputes in the Anglo-Saxon church relating to the time of celebrating Easter, how many dangerous points of controversy were involved in the science of the Compotus, and how tenaciously the Romish church held to its old customs in these matters. Gerland speaks, in his preface, with some forebodings, of the manner in which his contradictions of some opinions of Dionysius and Helperic might be received.

Non equidem me latet quosdam qui Ulpricum legerunt, et tabulam Dionysii viderunt, aliter in quibusdam sentire quam ego; sed siquis Bedam perlegerit, et naturalem compotum tenere voluerit, hic ut arbitror partim auctoritati partim artis naturæ adquiescens, non indigne feret hic quædam posita quæ obviare viderunt Dionysio, quædam autem quæ Ulprico.

It appears, indeed, that Gerland had ventured too far in his emendations, and trodden on forbidden

ground; and that his treatise on the Compotus was directly proscribed by the "orthodox" teachers. I will only add on this subject two other passages from inedited manuscripts. The first is from a tract on the Compotus in MS. Cotton. Vitellius A. xii., fol. 102, r°., written early in the thirteenth century.

Inter ecclesiasticos autem viros Dionisius, Beda, Theophilus, Helpricus, postremo autem Gerlandus, potissimi fuerunt. Gerlandus tamen rationibus quibusdam innitens in multis longo ecclesiæ usui contradicit, unde ipsum *pro minimo* habet ecclesia; simplices enim fide non perversores quærit.

The other passage is taken from an anonymous tract on the Compotus in the same volume as the preceding (fol. 84, r°.), but in an earlier hand-writing.

Cæterum propter instructionem aliorum, et præcipue G. mei, quem in omni scientia et virtute proficere cupio, universum apposui percurrere compotum, quatenus singula quæ mihi dubitabilia visa sunt explanarem. Noveris etiam præter cæteros auctores Geralandum quoque imitatum, et etiam imitandum in omnibus, exceptis his in quibus obviat usui ecclesiæ; nam ubi bene dicit, nemo melius.

This meed of praise was not unmerited; for Gerland appears to have been one of the best mathematicians of his day, and his treatise on the Abacus, though short, is distinguished from the other books on the same subject by its facility and clearness of style. This treatise, which appears from the number of copies that remain to have been very popular, is most frequently found without the name of the author, a circumstance which is perhaps to be explained by the discredit thrown on Gerland for the unfortunate boldness he had shown in his tract on the Compotus. It is found thus anonymously in the British Museum, MS. Arundel. No. 343.

VIII.—ON SOME LACUNÆ IN THUCYDIDES,

AND THE

MEANS OF SUPPLYING THEM FROM SATISFACTORY SOURCES.

BY GEORGE BURGES, M.A., TRIN. COLL., CAMB.

(Read June 27, 1844.)

A QUARTER of a century has nearly elapsed, since I first stated that I could restore numerous *lacunæ* in the remains of Greek tragedy and comedy by the aid of different writers, who have preserved the missing matter. As far as relates to the *Supplices* and *Eumenides* of Æschylus, I have in my editions of those plays accomplished nearly all that is to be done; and in the Preface to the former I have given a specimen of what I could do for the *Sept. Theb.*, *Persæ*, and *Prometheus;* and had my edition of the last-mentioned play been intended for men of mature mind, and not merely for youths at school and college, I would have exhibited a splendid scene, as it came from the hand of the poet, in lieu of the imperfect and disjointed ideas, by which the text, as commonly read, is disfigured. The supplement, to which I allude, has been attributed by some to Sophocles, while others have pronounced it the decided forgery of some christian writer. But, from the whole tenor of the thoughts and diction, it is evident that Æschylus was the real author,

as I may prove perhaps at a future time. Suffice it to say at present, that the idea of supplying one author by the aid of another was first started by Canter, who detected a portion of the opening scene of the *Choephoræ* in the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes; although he failed to perceive that the remainder of the missing matter was to be found nearly entire in Eustathius and the Scholiast on Pindar, and that by uniting the *disjecta membra* of the dramatist, the whole was written originally, as I quoted it in my Notes on Bailey's Hermesianax, p. 150.

To Canter succeeded Biset, who restored to the *Thesmophoriazusæ* of Aristophanes a verse preserved by Suidas; and after Biset came Barnes, who supplied some lines in Homer, furnished by a Pseudo-Plato and Plutarch respectively.

So too Markland detected in Theophilus a verse wanting in the *Iphigenia in Aulis;* and in the *Thesmophoriazusæ* a line belonging to the *Helena* of Euripides; while Valckenaer in his MSS. Notes has pointed out half-a-dozen supplements of the last-mentioned play still lying hid in the parodies of the same comic writer; to whose *Nubes* likewise he restored a verse, preserved by Suidas alone. And had that illustrious scholar, whose equal is not to be found in the present day, devoted more of his time to Aristophanes, instead of roaming with the industry of the bee and the eye of the eagle through the whole range of Greek and Latin literature, he would have been able to recover upwards of one hundred verses, as they were sung by the comic muse of Aristophanes, and have pointed out the passages in the still remaining plays where they existed originally; just as he has done in the case of Euripides, to whom he has restored

in Phœn. 1389 a line quoted by Gregory Nazianzen, and read, no doubt, by Statius, who has imitated it. It was first introduced into the text by myself, in 1810, and recently Hermann has again admitted it.

In more modern times Hermann has detected a supplement of the *Prometheus* lying hid in the Scholia, and in the Cento, under the title of *Χριστὸς Πάσχων*, two or three verses wanting in the *Agamemnon;* and from the same source, aided by the *Imagines* of Philostratus, I recovered the whole of a lost scene in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, and published it in the Gentleman's Magazine, Sept. 1832, but in a less perfect state than I could do now; and it were easy to obtain numerous supplements of the Pseud-Euripidean *Rhesus* from the same cento; to say nothing of a few in the *Hippolytus*, *Troades*, and *Medea;* the most remarkable of which is in the last-mentioned play, where the Scholiast evidently found something wanting in the text, and chiming in with what John Tzetzes, who was probably the author of *Χριστὸς Πάσχων*, found in his MS. that contained six plays of Euripides and the *Rhesus*.[1]

To come, however, to the immediate object of this Paper, the discovery of *lacunæ* in the prose writers of Greece, and the means of supplying them from satisfactory sources, all that has been hitherto done is, comparatively speaking, nothing; and yet Thucydides alone will furnish upwards of one hundred instances more or less convincing.

In Herodotus, vii. 176, a word has dropped out, preserved by Pausanias, v. 35, as I remarked in *Poppo's Prolegom.* p. 317; nor should Wesseling have rejected

[1] So too in Hesiod's Ἔργ. 118. Goettling and Spohn have discovered and supplied two imperfect passages by the aid of Diodorus and Origen.

in i. 192 a word wanting in the text, but quoted from thence by Eustathius, Tzetzes, and Hesychius, who transcribed the *Glossæ Herodoteæ*.

In Xenophon's *M. S.* iv. 3, both Clemens of Alexandria and Stobæus, quoted by Schneider, have preserved some words, of which those at present in the text are only an abridgment.

In Plato, *Republ.* iii. p. 398 A., Dio Chrysostom, Aristides, and Theodoretus, quoted by Ast, evidently read something not to be found in the MSS. of Plato hitherto collated. So too in the first *Alcibiades*, Stobæus furnishes three supplements, as remarked by Gottleber and Buttmann; while Thomas Taylor has shown, in the *Classical Journal*, No. 41, that the *Timæus* is to be restored twice by the aid of Proclus. On the other hand, in some MSS. first collated by Bekker there has been discovered a supplement of the *Critias*, which Heusde had previously detected in Plutarch, ii. p. 801 D.

In Plutarch, ii. p. 351 D., Wyttenbach was the first to discover a *lacuna*, and to supply it from Eustratius in Aristot. *Ethic.* vi. p. 98; and in p. 403 B. he has properly introduced a lost word, furnished by Thucyd. v. 16. So too in p. 733 F. there is a passage quoted by Eustathius in a more perfect state than it was previous to the collation of the Palatine MS., as remarked by Wyttenbach. Again, in *Erotic.* p. 758 F., Porson acutely saw, what had escaped every one else, that in the letters

ακιθαριν ακ γονον αρ τα τε δημον εξοπλιζουσαν

lay hid a quotation from Æschylus, *Suppl.* 674,

ακιθαριν δακρυογονον αρην βοαν τ' ενδημον εξοπλιζων,

a supplement, the more remarkable, as it not only fills

up a *lacuna* in Plutarch, but confirms nearly every emendation made by different critics on a passage once considered the most corrupt, or nearly so, in Æschylus; while in p. 760 D., *οὐδ' ἐν μαλακαῖσιν ων παρειαῖς νεανίδων*, the missing letters *εννυχευ* have been discovered in Soph. *Antig.* 780. So too Dio Cassius has been supplied from Xiphilinus by Reimar, in Præf. p. LI. ed. Sturz., and from Suidas in *Ἀδριανὸς* in LXIX.

In Athen. i. p. 6 A. some words have been furnished by Suidas in *Φλόξ*; and from the same lexicon some defective passages in the life of Thucydides by Marcellinus were restored by Casaubon; while in the life of Isidorus by Damascius numerous omissions, and not a few of considerable length, have been supplied by Suidas, as may be seen in Bekker's edition of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius.

Of the *lacunæ* to be found in Demosthenes, and especially in the *Midian* oration, and of the means of supplying them from satisfactory sources, I have already given some specimens at the end of my English translation of that speech; and at a fitting opportunity I shall produce many more; for the present, however, Thucydides alone will afford "ample room and verge enough" for deep and continued reflection.

Of the different *lacunæ* in the Greek text of the two last books, before they were restored by the MSS. collated by Bekker, I have given a list in my *Poppo's Prolegomena*, p. 195, 196; and though in almost every instance the missing matter is found in the original version of Valla, yet have the recent editors, without a shadow of reason, rejected what Bekker had properly inserted. Upon one occasion, however, they have all received a supplement, furnished by a solitary MS., and of very modern date, but which is still to be

ranked equal to the oldest, since it is the counterpart of the one used by Valla; I say the counterpart, for though the two agree generally in a remarkable manner, yet they differ sufficiently often to disprove the suspicion of their identity.

The passage to which I allude is in viii. 22, where MS. B. has alone the words following,

καὶ καταλείπονται τέσσαρες νῆες ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ αὖθις αἱ λοιπαὶ Μυτιλήνην ἀφιστᾶσιν,

thus translated by Valla,

"deinde relictis hic quatuor navibus, Mitylenem, quo cum cæteris navibus venerunt, ad deficiendum impulere."

With the knowledge of this fact, it is quite useless to talk, as some do, of the intrinsic value of the other MSS. where that passage is wanting. For it is evident that they are all to be referred to an imperfect original, which omitted—and in this respect MS. B. and Valla are equally deficient—one word in v. 9, supplied by Stobæus, LIV. p. 364. (Note A.)

Despite, however, the array of examples produced in the note to support the reading of Stobæus, first pointed out by Duker, not one of the recent editors of Thucydides has had the good sense to introduce it into the text. So too, where Julius Pollux has preserved a single word (*ἀγνὰ*) wanting in all the MSS. before *θύματα* in Thucyd. i. 126, the modern editors have rejected what Hemsterhuis was the first to approve, and this too without their attempting even to show that *θύματα* without *ἀγνὰ* could mean "bloodless sacrifices;" for in the tragic fragment *θυσίαν ἄπυρον παγκαρπείας*, quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, the very word *ἄπυρον* proves that in other cases *θυσία* was applied to a sacrifice where fire was used to roast the flesh of the

slaughtered animal (Note B). Hence, although I have little hope that greater attention will be paid by future editors to the supplements I have to produce, whose principal support rests upon internal evidence, yet I have lived long enough to know that truth does not lose its essence by being unpalatable to the many.

From the Index to Suidas in Gaisford's edition it appears that Thucydides is quoted more or less fully, and either distinctly or tacitly, in upwards of three hundred places. The number will however be somewhat larger, if my views are correct. For to the son of Olorus are to be referred upwards of one hundred fragments; thirteen of which, I suspect, are taken from the concluding portion of the Sicilian expedition. Thus Thucydides said, in vii. 50,

"Just as *every thing* was ready for their departure, an eclipse of the moon took place, for it happened to be at the full; when not only the greater part of the Athenians, reflecting upon the ominous nature of the occurrence, urged the leader to stop; but even Nicias himself, who was *ever* inclined, *like a woman*, to such kind of superstitious feelings, stated that he would *as an individual* enter into no deliberations, nor should *a foot* be stirred, until he had waited the twenty-seven days, which the soothsayers had ordained, *and distinctly declined to engage in battle, or to march further on, or to do any thing else.*"

Without stopping to discuss the verbal alterations and supplement introduced into this passage, and the reasons for them, which will be found in the Note (C), suffice it to say, that Thucydides never distinctly states whether the army waited the prescribed period or not; unless indeed he meant the reader to infer as much from the expression ἡ μονὴ in the very next sentence. But in that case he would, I think, have written μηνιαία ἡ μονὴ, "the delay of a month;" and though he is equally silent, in vii. 50, on the length of time

required for blocking up the larger harbour of Syracuse, yet, as it was eight stadia wide, the work could scarcely be completed in less than a month; although Diodorus states, what is quite incredible, that it was finished in three days. Hence, as nothing was done by the Athenians during the interval, Thucydides took the opportunity of detailing, what he should have done earlier, the names of the different states that took part in the contest on either side. Still less has he given any clue to the knowledge of the time, when the last and decisive sea-fight occurred, except by saying in vii. 75,

"After this, when it appeared to Nicias and Demosthenes that sufficient preparations had been made, and the army was now on the third day after the sea-fight in the act of raising the siege, terrible *therefore* on not one point alone were the doings."

Now, though not a single editor has noticed the difficulty, it is evident that the apodosis of the first clauses of the sentence is wanting; nor could an inferential particle be used where the train of ideas requires a continuative one. Opportunely then do we meet in Suidas, *Ἀνεσχήκει*, with an historical fragment, which plainly belongs to this passage; for Thucydides wrote, I suspect, to this effect:

"After this, when it appeared to Nicias and Demosthenes that sufficient preparations had been made, *and the moon rose in splendor, as it is wont, when it wants but little of the full*, the breaking up of the army took place on the third day after the sea-fight; and very terrible upon not one point alone were the doings."—(Note D.)

Of course I shall be told by the sticklers for the vulgate, that Thucydides might indeed have so written; but that I cannot prove he did actually write so; for the passage in Suidas might belong to some other author, who alluded to the same event in Sicily, or to

a similar one elsewhere. But in the whole range of ancient history, I believe, it would be impossible to find another event to which that fragment could be referred, and, least of all, amongst the writers quoted by Suidas; although, it is true, as remarked by Bloomfield, that Dio Cassius, xxxvi. 32, speaks of a battle between Pompey and Mithridates by moonlight, and Polyænus of an attack made on the Acropolis of Corinth by Aratus, while the moon was shining at one time, and hid by clouds at another.

By adopting then the supplement furnished by Suidas, it will be seen that the Athenians did actually delay their retreat for nearly a month; and that the last sea-fight took place on Sept. 21, for the eclipse occurred on Aug. 27, B. C. 413, while the battle of the Anapus happened on Sept. 24, as may be inferred from another fragment preserved by Suidas. For Thucydides wrote, I suspect, to this effect in vii. 78.

"And when they arrived at the ford of the river Anapus,—*for the moon happened to be at the full, and it was not difficult during the whole night to march, following the course of the stream,*—they found some Syracusans and their allies drawn up on its banks."

Here, as in the former supplement, the original Greek is given in the Note (E), together with the reasons that led, as I conceive, to the omission of the words marked by italics.

But the most remarkable instance of a lacuna is to be found in vii. 84, where we meet at present with the nonsense following. (Note F.)

"When day broke, Nicias led on the detachment, while the Syracusans and allies kept hanging upon them in the same manner, and hurling missiles and darts. The Athenians proceeded with all haste to the river Assinar, compelled by the attacks on every side of the cavalry, and the remainder of the rabble, conceiving that they

should be more at ease if they could cross the river, and urged moreover by their state of suffering, and the desire to allay their thirst. On reaching the river, they fell upon it without any order still; but as every one was anxious to cross the first, and the enemy kept pressing upon them, they rendered the passage already difficult. For compelled to proceed, crowded together, they fell upon and trod down each other, and were destroyed amongst the shorter spears and accoutrements, some on the instant, and others floated down impaled. The Syracusans, posted on the other side of the river,—and it was precipitous,—sent missiles from above against the Athenians, both those who were drinking, the majority with delight, and against those who were thrown into confusion among themselves in the river, which was hollow. And the Peloponnesians, going down, killed those in the river especially. And though the water became immediately polluted, it was drunk not the less, mixed with mud and blood, and became an object of contention with the majority."

That Thucydides could have written, what the notes will prove to be a mass of incoherent words, no man who is of sane mind, and possesses even a moderate knowledge of Greek, can for a moment believe. And yet some, who fancy themselves scholars, will no doubt contend that the vulgate has preserved the very words of the historian, and that all, which I would father upon him, is but "the baseless fabric of a vision," that neither can leave, nor deserves to leave, any other impression on the mind than a feeling of wonder, not unmixed with contempt, at the misplaced ingenuity of a critic, who finds it easier to re-write ancient authors than to construe them. To such very clever and caustic opponents I will reply by saying merely, that, until it is shown that the writer, who devoted thirty years to the composition of a history, which few have ventured to imitate, and none been able to surpass, neither could nor would pen something more fit to be read than what the vulgate offers, I shall continue to assert that his work has come down to us in only a

mutilated form; and that, in this very chapter, Suidas has preserved in no less than ten places the identical words, of which no vestige is to be found elsewhere. For Thucydides wrote, I suspect, to this effect.

"When day broke, Nicias, in a state of anxiety, led out the detachment that was running the danger of their lives and all. On the other hand, the Syracusans and their allies kept hanging upon them in the same manner, and hurling from a distance all kinds of missiles and darts. The Athenians, who were wounded by the arrows, as well as when they fought hand to hand, proceeded with all haste to the river Assinar, compelled by the attacks on every side of the cavalry, the heavy-armed, and the rest of the rabble, conceiving they would be more at ease if they could cross the river, and urged moreover by their state of suffering, and the desire to allay their thirst. On reaching the river they stooped to drink in no order, and to draw up the dirty water with both hands. But as every one was desirous to cross the first, and the enemy kept pressing upon them, they rendered the passage very difficult. For compelled to proceed, crowded together, they trod upon and were trodden down; and tumbling over each other, some were destroyed, while others, impaled upon the shorter spears, and falling into the water with their accoutrements, perished, some on the instant, while others floated down; but from the weight of their armour, not one of those who sunk rose again. On the other side of the river, the archers, whom the Lacedemonian had previously posted, where it was suspected the enemy would come, he now stations, going himself by night, all round; and where the necks of the stream were crowned with precipices, there the Syracusans sent missiles from above against the Athenians, as they were swimming away without their arms, and saved by the quietness afforded by the water; for, in consequence of the breadth of the river not being within bow-shot, the arrows could not reach them; while the Syracusan swimmers, under Gylippus, going some here and some there into the river, killed such as could scarcely stand in the water, and were thrown into confusion by their feet slipping, as each person was trying where was the firm and where the level bottom of the river. And though the water became polluted instantly, it was drunk not the less, mixed with mud and blood, and became an object of contention to those about to lap it."

Note A.

Where the vulgate has *νομίσατε εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν τὸ ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι*, there Stobæus offers, *νομίσατε τρία εἶναι*, correctly, as is evident not only from the words of the Scholiast, *ἐκ τριῶν γίνεται τὸ καλῶς πολεμεῖν*, but from the constant practice of Thucydides and other exact writers. Thus we find in i. 36, *τρία μὲν ὄντα—ναυτικὰ τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον καὶ τὸ τῶν Κορινθίων*. 74. *τρία τὰ ὠφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα*. 122. *τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν ἀπήλλακται, ἀξυνεσίας καὶ μαλακίας καὶ ἀμελείας*. iii. 40. *τρισὶ τοῖς ἀξυμφορωτάτοις—οἴκτῳ καὶ ἡδονῇ λόγων καὶ ἐπιεικίᾳ*. 66. *τρεῖς ἀδικίας—τὴν—λυθεῖσαν ὁμολογίαν καὶ θάνατον καὶ τὴν—ψευσθεῖσαν ὑπόσχεσιν*. Plato, *Gorg.* p. 487 A. *τρία ὄντα—ἐπιστήμην καὶ εὔνοιαν καὶ παρρησίαν*. Demosthenes, *de Coron.* § 215. *τρία—τὰ κάλλιστα—ἓν μὲν ἀνδρίας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης*. *Leptin.* p. 460 R. *τρία τὰ μέγιστα ὑνείδη κτᾶται, φθονεροὺς, ἀπίστους, ἀχαρίστους εἶναι δοκεῖν*. *Mid.* p. 524 R. *τρεῖς εἶχε προφάσεις, μέθην, ἔρωτα, ἄγνοιαν*. Lycurgus, *c. Leocr.* § 2. *τρία γάρ ἐστι τὰ μέγιστα—ἡ τῶν νόμων τάξις—ἡ τῶν δικαστῶν ψῆφος—ἡ κρίσις*. Aristophanes, *Nub.* 442. Τὸ Χάος τουτὶ, καὶ τὰς Νεφέλας καὶ τὴν Γλῶσσαν, *τρία ταυτί*. Plutarch, i. p. 322 A. *τρισὶ—ἀφθαρσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἀρετῇ*; and again, *τριῶν ὄντων—ζήλου καὶ φόβου καὶ τιμῆς*. ii. p. 2 A. *τρία—φύσιν καὶ λόγον καὶ ἔθος*. p. 877 E. *τρία ταῦτα, σχῆμα, μέγεθος καὶ βάρος*. Athenæus, viii. p. 344 B. *τρία τὰ μέγιστα ἠφανικὼς, γῆν καὶ θάλατταν καὶ οὐρανόν*. Pseudo-Demetrius, *de Elocut.* § 38. *ἐν τρισὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς, διανοίᾳ, λέξει, τῷ συγκεῖσθαι προσφόρως*. Achilles Tat. iii. p. 127. *αἰδὼς, καὶ λύπη καὶ ὀργὴ, τρία ταῦτα τῆς ψυχῆς κύματα*. iv. 8. *τρία τὰ κάλλιστα, ἀναπνοὴ, καὶ φωνὴ καὶ φίλημα*. Libanius, i. p. 407 D. *τρία ταῦτα—μάλιστα ὁ Φίλιππος δέδοικε*. Stobæus, p. 7, 20. *τρία ταῦτα—λόγον καὶ δύναμιν καὶ προαίρεσιν*. p. 489, 25. *ἐκ τριῶν τούτων, τῆς τε κτήσεως, καὶ τῆς χρήσεως, καὶ τῆς τηρήσεως*. Simplicius, *in Epictet.* § 8. *ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τρία, ἡδονὴ καὶ χρεία καὶ—στοργή*. Suidas in Ἀγχίνους—*ὅτι τρία μέρη εὐμαθείας, ἀγχίνοια, μνήμη, ὀξύτης*· in Ἀμφίων—*τρία—Χρόνος, θεοῦ τε πνεῦμ' ἔρως θ' ὑμνῳδίας*· in Γίνεται—*κατὰ τρεῖς τρόπους γίνεται, κατ' οἰκονομίαν, εὐδοκίαν, συγχώρησιν*· in Διάρροια—*τρία εἰσὶ πάθη, βράγχη, κραῦρα, διάρροια*· in Καταφρόνησιν—*τὰ τρία ταῦτα, ἀξυνεσίαν, ἀμελειαν, μαλακίαν*· in Ὀρφεὺς—*βουλὴν, φῶς, ζοὴν, ταῦτα τὰ τρία ὀνόματα*· in Πρόνοια—*κατὰ τρεῖς τρόπους γίνεται, κατ' οἰκονομίαν, κατ' εὐδοκίαν, κατὰ συγχώρησιν*· in Συνεχὲς—*κατὰ τριῶν, ἀριθμοῦ, χρόνου, λόγου*· in Συνθῆκαι—*διὰ τριῶν ἐτελοῦντο—λόγων, ἔργων, χειρῶν*· *καὶ τρία ἐγκλήματα παραβασίας, βωμὸς, πίστις, ὅρκος*· Τὰ *τρία—τρία παρετίθουν, ξίφος, βρόχον καὶ κώνειον*· in Τέρμα—*εἰς τρία διῄρηται τὸ ὅρος*,

ἀκρώρειαν—ὑπερωρείαν—τέρμα· and in *Φυσικὸς λόγος—τρία ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς πράγμασιν, εἶδος, ὕλη, αἰτία.* The word *τρία* is, however, omitted in II. John. 3, *ἔσται μεθ' ἡμῶν χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη*: unless it be said that Γ (i. e. *τρία*) has dropped out after *ἔσται*.

Note B.

The reading, *ἀγνὰ θύματα*, furnished by Pollux, has been supported by myself in *Poppo's Prolegomena*, p. 176. But by an unpardonable act of carelessness I neglected to examine the passage in Lucian, *Timon*, § 7, there quoted; and hence, misled by the note of Gottleber, I attributed to Lucian what are in fact the words of Thucydides, as corrected by Hemsterhuis. But though the evidence of Lucian is thus wanting to confirm directly the testimony of Pollux, still is the restoration of the word *ἁγνὰ* not a jot the less certain. For Thucydides could have written only, *Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἐν ᾗ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πανδημεὶ θύουσι οἱ πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλ' ἁγνὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια.* And so doubtless found the Scholiast in his copy; for he explains *θύματα ἐπιχώρια* by *πέμματα εἰς ζώων μορφὰς τετυπωμένα*, in opposition to *ἱερεῖα*, by which were meant living victims; and hence we can understand the passage in Pausanias, viii. 2: *Δία τε ὠνόμασεν* (ὁ Κέκροψ) *Ὕπατον πρῶτος· καὶ ὁπόσα ἔχοι ψυχὴν, τούτων μὲν ἠξίωσεν οὐδὲν θῦσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχώρια ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήγισεν, ἃ πελάνους καλοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι.* Now that the *πέμματα* were made to represent animals, just as gingerbread and various kinds of confectionary are at the present day, is shown by Herodotus, ii. 47. *οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου σταιτίνας πλασάντες ὗς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταύτας θύουσι.* Plutarch, in *Lucull.* i. p. 497 F. *οἱ* (Κυζικηνοὶ) *ἠπόρουν βοὸς μελαίνης πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν καὶ σταιτίνην πλασάντες τῷ βωμῷ παρέστησαν*: in *Sympos.* ii. p. 673 E. *πεπλασμένον ἐκ τῶν ἀλεύρων κυνίδιον—ἢ βοΐδιον*, (from whence we can understand *βοΐδια εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς*, in Demosth. Ol. III. p. 37 R.) and by Appian, i. p. 752, *ἐπελθούσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἐν ᾗ θύουσι βοῦν μέλαιναν, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔπλαττον ἀπὸ σίτου*: and by Æsop, *Fab.* 36, *ἐπειδὴ βοῶν ἠπόρει, σταιτίνας ποιήσας βοῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ κατέκαυσεν.* To the same custom allusion is made in Hesych. *Βοῦς· πόπανόν τι θυόμενον οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἁγιωτάταις θυσίαις· ἦν γὰρ βοῒ παραπλήσιον*: from whence one might be led to read *ἀγνότητος* for *στυγνότητος* in the gl. *Διάσια· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ τὸ σκυθρωποὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς εἶναι ἣν ἐπετέλουν μετά τινος στυγνότητος θύοντες*; were it not that *στυγνότητος* coincides with *σκυθρωπούς*. Of this substitution of cakes for oxen,—to which reference is made

in Hesych. *Ἕβδομος βοῦς· εἶδός τι πέμματος κέρατος ἔχοντος*: and in *Μαζινὸς βοῦς· ὁ ἐξ ἀλφίτων*,—the origin is traced by Herodotus to Ægypt, from whence it was carried by Pythagoras to Greece; where, according to Porphyry, in *Pythag.* § 36, the philosopher sacrificed *βοῦν σταίτινον* on the discovery of some geometrical truth; and hence too, his follower, Empedocles, when he was the victor in a chariot-race at Olympia, *βοῦν ἔθυσε—ἐκ μέλιτος καὶ ἀλφίτων*, as stated by Diog. L. viii. 53; or in the language of Suidas, *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς—ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ βοῦν, ὃ λέγεται πέμμα, ποιησάμενος θῦσαι*. There are indeed those who would refer the gloss in Pollux to Plato, *Legg.* vi. p. 782 F, where *πέλανοι μέλιτι δεδευμένοι καὶ καρποὶ καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἄλλ' ἁγνὰ θύματα* are opposed to *βοὸς θύματα*. But despite the dictum of Fritzsche, and his master Hermann, that Pollux was so ignorant that he understood scarcely a syllable of what he was writing about, I for one will never believe that by a lapse of memory Thucydides was substituted for Plato by a writer so familiar with the works of the historian and philosopher. Besides, from the words of Hesychius in *Διάσια—ἦν (θυσίαν) ἐπετέλουν μετά τινος στυγνότητος θύοντες*, it is evident the festival lacked a little of the good cheer usually enjoyed on such occasions by the poor. For it may be inferred from Xenophon, in K. Π. vii. 8, 5, *ὡλοκαύτει* to Jupiter Meilichius *χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ*, and from Lucian in *Timon*, § 7, *λαμπρῶς εἰώθαμεν ἑορτάζειν τὰ Διάσια*, that the rich kept the festival in a more sumptuous manner than those who stuck to the rites of their forefathers; amongst whom the *ἁγνὰ θύματα* were no doubt introduced in support of the ordonnance, which, says Ælian in *V. H.* v. 14, prohibited the sacrifice of an ox fit for the plough. The law, however, became obsolete; as may be inferred from Aristophanes, *Eq.* 653, where Cleon promises to sacrifice a hundred oxen, and the sausage-seller two hundred; while, according to Isocrates, in *Areopag.* p. 344, even three hundred were slaughtered at a single time. Nor is the supplement furnished by Pollux the only remarkable circumstance connected with this passage in Thucydides. For it would seem that the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Nub.* 407, found in his copy of the historian—*μεγίστη, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ ἔξω τείχους συνιόντες*—a reading which has this at least to recommend it, that we thus avoid the inconvenience of referring the relative *ᾗ* to the distant noun *ἑορτή*, instead of the nearer one *πόλεως*; and we learn moreover that the people went outside the wall of the city in a kind of procession; unless it be said that, as Apollonius, quoted by the Scholiast, distinguished the feast of Jupiter Meilichius from the Diasia, one festival was celebrated outside the Acropolis, and the other outside the town. The

distinction, however, is directly at variance with the positive language of the historian.

Note C.

The Greek, as commonly read in vii. 50, is *καὶ μελλόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἑτοῖμα ἦν, ἀποπλεῖν, ἡ σελήνη ἐκλείπει· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ πανσέληνος οὖσα· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οἵ τε πλείους ἐπισχεῖν ἐκέλευον τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐνθύμιον ποιούμενοι, καὶ ὁ Νικίας, ἦν γάρ τι καὶ ἄγαν θειασμῷ τε καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ προσκείμενος, οὐδ' ἂν διαβουλεύσασθαι ἔτι ἔφη, πρὶν, ὡς οἱ μάντεις ἐξηγοῦντο, τρὶς ἐννέα ἡμέρας, μεῖναι ὅπως ἂν πρότερον κινηθείη.* Here the first thing that strikes us is the omission of *πάντα*, which has evidently dropped out between *ἦν* and *ἀποπλεῖν*. With regard to the second difficulty, in *τι καὶ ἄγαν*, Bloomfield compares (vii. 63,) *δέομαι μὴ ἐκπεπλῆχθαί τι ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς ἄγαν*; not aware that the historian wrote, *ἐκπεπλῆχθαι οὕτω—ἄγαν*, similar to *οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπιφθόνως* in i. 75; to *οὕτως ἀλόγως θρασυνόμεθα* in v. 104; to *ἐξαπιναίως οὕτως* in ii. 93, provided the passage be correct; to *ἄγαν οὕτω* in Sophocles, *Phil.* 600; to *οὑτωσὶ σφόδρα Ἀπεριμερίμνως* in Aristophanes, *Nub.* 136; to *οὕτως ἐστὶ φειδωλὸς σφόδρα* in Alexis, quoted by Stobæus, LXII.; and to *πολλὰ οὕτω* in Xenophon, K. Ἀ. ii. 4, 7. In lieu then of the incorrect *τι καὶ ἄγαν*, I proposed in the Foreign Monthly Review, No. 3, p. 303, to read *ἦν τι κατὰ γύναιον*. For that women were superstitious is shown by a passage of Polybius, quoted by Suidas in *Δεισιδαιμονία*, where the historian says that Timæus was *δεισιδαιμονίας ἀγεννοῦς καὶ τερατείας γυναικώδους πλήρης*: while Calpurnia was alarmed at the dream relating to her husband, although Cæsar *οὐδένα γυναικισμὸν ἐν δεισιδαιμονίᾳ πρότερον κατεγνώκει αὐτῆς*, according to Plutarch in i. p. 738 B. It would indeed be good Greek to say *ἦν ἄγαν τι*, similar to *περισσὸν δή τι* in Josephus, *B. J.* i. 5, 2, quoted by Bloomfield, and to *πάνυ τι* in Lucian's *Timon*, § 2, and *ἦν μή τι πάνυ—ἀμβλυώπη* in *Dialog. Marin.* 5, and in the instances produced by Boissonnade in *Notices et Extraits des MSS.* t. xii. p. 33. But *τι καὶ ἄγαν* is an expression which never is, for it could not be, found in correct Greek. With regard to *γύναιον*, it is used by Aristophanes in *Thesm.* 798, by Demosthenes in *F. L.* p. 361 R. and p. 439, and by Agathias in a fragment quoted by Suid. in *Ἐφεστρίς*. The third difficulty is in the word *διαβουλεύσασθαι*, which means 'to deliberate thoroughly,' as in ii. 5. But this could not be said of Nicias, who refused to deliberate at all. I suspect then that Thucydides wrote *ἰδίᾳ βουλεύσασθαί γέ τι*. The last difficulty is in *ὅπως ἂν—κινηθείη*, which forms a Greek sentence,

such as is tolerated indeed in Germany, but was utterly unknown in the country of Thucydides, whatever Kühner may assert to the contrary in Gr. Gr. § 810, ed. Jelf, who, however, correctly remarks, that *ὡς ἄν* with the optative is far more rare in Attic than it is in Epic and Ionic Greek; and hence he should have corrected, what he might have done very easily, such passages as in Aristophanes, *Av.* 1338, *ὡς ἂν ποταθείην*; *Nub.* 766; Demosthenes, *Philipp.* ii. p. 66 and p. 89; Plato, *Sympos.* p. 190 B. In the present case the disease is seated somewhat deeper. For Thucydides wrote, I have little doubt, *πρὶν θ', ἃς οἱ μάντεις ἐξηγοῦντο, τρὶς ἐννέα ἡμέρας μεῖναι, οὐδὲ ποῦς ἂν πρότερον κινηθείη.* For thus an action of the body, *ποῦς—κινηθείη*, is properly opposed to an act of the mind, *βουλεύσασθαι*; while to Suidas, in *Διαρρήδην*, is due the preservation of the supplement, *διαρρήδην ἀπειπὼν μήτε μάχην συνάπτειν, μήτε περαιτέρω ἰέναι, μήτε ἄλλο πράττειν μηδέν*, with which Hemsterhuis compares the language of Livy in viii. 30. The conduct of Nicias was therefore the reverse of the general mentioned in Suid. *Δεισιδαιμονία*, who *ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας δεισιδαιμονοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς σημείοις ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπινοίας καὶ στρατηγίας μεταθεῖναι τὰς τοῦ πλήθους εὐλαβείας.* With regard to the superstition of not stirring till another moon, the commentators might have referred to the Scholiast on Plato, *Menex.* p. 240 C, who states that the Lacedemonians were not wont to march from home except during a full moon; and to Cæsar, in *B. G.* i. 51, "non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam prælio contendissent:" and as regards the effect produced by an eclipse, the soldiers under Drusus, says Dio Cass. lvii. 4, *τῆς σελήνης ἐκλειπούσης ἐνθυμηθέντες ἀπημβλύνθησαν.*

Note D.

In vii. 75, the text as commonly read is, *Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ ἐδόκει τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει ἱκανῶς παρεσκευάσθαι, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις ἤδη τοῦ στρατεύματος τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐγίγνετο, δεινὸν οὖν ἦν οὐ καθ' ἓν μόνον τῶν πραγμάτων,*—where between *καὶ ἡ* is to be inserted the supplement preserved by Suidas in *Ἀνεσχήκει—ἡ σελήνη ἀνεσχήκει λαμπρὰ, οἷα δὴ οὐ πολὺ πανσέληνος ἀποδέουσα*; while in lieu of *δεινὸν οὖν* one would prefer *δεινότατον*.

Note E.

In vii. 78, the common reading is, *Καὶ ἐπειδή τε ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Ἀνάπου ποταμοῦ, εὗρον ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρατεταγμένους τῶν Συρακοσίων*

καὶ ξυμμάχων. But between ποταμοῦ and εὗρον is to be inserted the fragment preserved by Suidas in Κατὰ ῥοῦν—Πλήρης τε γὰρ ἡ σελήνη ἐτύγχανεν | οὖσα καὶ οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν διὰ πάσης | τῆς νυκτὸς κατιέναι κατὰ ῥοῦν, | a supplement the more remarkable, as, from the similarity of ῥοῦν and εὗρον, we can not only discover the cause of the omission, but show that, in the time of Suidas, his MS. of Thucydides was written in lines containing about twenty-seven letters each, as it was in the Codex Archetypus, from which all the existing MSS. were transcripts, more or less remote, as I was the first to remark in *Poppo's Prolegomena*, p. 169. Nor is this omission to be wondered at in a place where two MSS. in the text, and two in the margin, have preserved in the preceding sentence the Greek words, πρῶτον μὲν ἡγούμενον, wanting in all the rest, except the one used by Valla, from whose version, 'Niciæ copiæ sub ipso priores ibant,' it is easy to elicit what Thucydides wrote, τὸ προῖὸν μὲν ἦν ἡγουμένου αὐτοῦ | Νικίου. Poppo indeed, with whom Goeller agrees, conceives the words found in four MSS. to have been interpolated, because, forsooth, they are wanting in those which Poppo considers to be the best, when in fact they are the worst, as I have shown in my *Poppo's Prolegomena*, p. 187.

Note F.

In vii. 84, the nonsensical Greek is thus read at present—Νικίας δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἦγε τὴν στρατιάν· οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι προσέκειντο τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον πανταχόθεν (1) βάλλοντές τε καὶ κατακοντίζοντες· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἠπείγοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσίναρον ποταμὸν, ἅμα μὲν βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς πανταχόθεν προσβολῆς ἱππέων τε πολλῶν (2) καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ὄχλου, οἰόμενοι ῥᾷόν τι σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι, ἢν διαβῶσι τὸν ποταμὸν, ἅμα δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας καὶ τοῦ πιεῖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ· ὡς δὲ γίγνονται ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐσπίπτουσιν (3) οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔτι, ἀλλὰ (4) πᾶς τέ τις διαβῆναι αὐτὸς πρῶτος βουλόμενος καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπικείμενοι χαλεπὴν ἤδη (5) τὴν διάβασιν ἐποίουν· ἀθρόοι γὰρ ἀναγκαζόμενοι χωρεῖν ἐπέπιπτόν τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ κατεπάτουν, (6) περί τε τοῖς δορατίοις καὶ σκεύεσιν οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐμπαλασσόμενοι (7) κατέῤῥεον· (8) ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερά τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραστάντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι, ἦν δὲ κρημνώδες, (9) ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πίνοντάς τε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀσμένους (10) καὶ ἐν κοίλῳ ὄντι (11) τῷ ποταμῷ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ταρασσομένους· οἵ τε Πελοποννήσιοι (12) ἐπικαταβάντες τοὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μᾶλιστα ἔσφαζον· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εὐθὺς διέφθαρτο· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐπίνετό τε ὁμοῦ τῷ πηλῷ ᾑματωμένον, καὶ περιμάχητον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς. (13)

As regards the objections to which the vulgate is exposed, and the means of correcting it, I have to remark—

(1.) *πανταχόθεν βάλλοντες* could hardly be repeated after the same phrase in § 79, 82, 83; and if it could, *πανταχόθεν* would not be found in the very next sentence. It is true that we meet with the same words in two consecutive periods; as in vi. 1, *οὐ πολλῷ τινι*; in vi. 61, *οὐ φανεροὶ ἦσαν*, and shortly afterwards, *οὐδαμοῦ φανεροὶ ἦσαν*; in v. 13, *πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην εἶχον*; and in 14, *πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην εἶχον*; and in the passages quoted by myself in *Poppo's Prolegom.* p. 115; and granting all of them to be as sound, as they are the reverse, still by comparing vii. 78, *οἱ Συρακόσιοι παριππεύοντες*,—81, *οὐ ξυσταδὸν μάχαις οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐχρῶντο*, I suspect Thucydides wrote *πανταχῆ ἄποθεν*, 'in every way from a distance:' for the Syracusans had no doubt recourse to stones on land, as they had in the sea-fight detailed in vii. 79, and in the battle described in iv. 43, *οἱ δὲ ὑπεκχωρήσαντες πρὸς αἱμασιὰν* (*ἦν γὰρ τὸ χωρίον πρόσαντες πᾶν*) *βάλλοντες τοῖς λίθοις καθύπερθεν ὄντες*; and, as their troops were chiefly light-armed, *ἐν καιρῷ τῆς μάχης τῷ παρατυχόντι ἢ λίθῳ ἢ ξύλῳ ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ὀργάνῳ χρώμενοι*, to use the language of Schol. Thucyd. i. 60, transcribed by Suidas in *Ψιλοί*. And thus the distant shooting would be the very reverse of what took place in the fight alluded to by Suidas in *Χειραψία*,—*Ἄπαυστοι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγίγνοντο καταπειρασμοὶ καὶ χειραψίαι καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων*.

(2.) Although there were *ἱππεῖς καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ πολλοὶ* (§ 79,) in the Syracusan army, yet on account of the phrase *καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ὄχλου* one would prefer *ἱππέων, ὁπλιτῶν*—as in vii. 59, *ὁπλῖται πολλοὶ καὶ νῆες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἄφθονος ξυνελέγη*· vii. 30, *ἱππέας τε καὶ ὁπλίτας*· i. 80, *ἄριστα ἐξήρτυνται*—*καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ὄχλῳ*· vi. 41, *τὸ κοινὸν αὐξηθῆναι καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷς ὁ πόλεμος ἀγάλλεται*· and hence in i. 86, *ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ χρήματά ἐστι πολλὰ καὶ νῆες καὶ ἵπποι*, where *πολλὰ* is omitted in nine MSS. Thucydides doubtless wrote *ὅπλα*, similar to *καλλωπιζομένους καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ἅρμασι*, in Xenophon's K. Π. vii. 4, 14; and *εὐιπποτάτους τε καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους*, in H. Gr. iv. 2, 3; and *εὔιππον, εὔοπλον*, in Euripides, Hec. 1080; and *εὔιππος, εὔοπλος, ἐγχεσπάλος*, in a fragment of Simmias, as corrected by Wakefield; and *εὔιππον, εὔοπλον, εὐθάλασσον*, in Sophocles, *Œd. C.* 709, as corrected by myself nearly forty years ago, in *Tro. Append.* p. 127,—an emendation which would have been lauded to the skies had it been made by a Porson or Elmsley,—in lieu of the nonsensical *εὔιππον, εὔπωλον*, with which however Mitchell is quite satisfied; for he did not perceive that he had been mystified by Hermann,

who with his usual misplaced ingenuity observes that *εὔιππον* alludes 'ad regendorum equorum artem, *εὔπωλον* ad alendæ nobilis propaginis studium.'

(3.) Although Arrian, when describing the battle on the banks of the Pinarus, says correctly, that the troops of Alexander *δρόμῳ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλλον*, yet after Thucydides had stated that the Athenians were anxious to allay their thirst, he would scarcely have said they fell into or upon the river, *εἰσπίπτουσιν*, when they reached it, rather than that they stooped down to drink—in Greek *εἰς πότον κύπτουσιν*.

(4.) From the expression *οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔτι*, it would seem that the retreat had previously been conducted in good order,—a fact utterly incredible under all the circumstances of the case. Hence I suspect that the words *ἔτι ἄλλα* are merely the remnants of *ἐπί τ' ἀντλίαν*, to which I would add *ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶν*, an expression, says Suidas in *Ἀντλεῖν*, applied *ἐπὶ τῶν σπουδῇ τι ποιούντων*. For it is probable, that as only a portion of the troops could be at one time on the brink of the river, some went into it, and drew up with both hands the water rendered muddy by recent rains, and similar to bilge-water—in Greek *ἄντλον*.

(5.) The particle *ἤδη* has no meaning here. Thucydides wrote *χαλεπωτάτην δή*—For *δὴ* thus follows the superlative, as I have shown in my *Poppo's Prolegomena*, p. 309.

(6.) To avoid the unmeaning tautology in *ἐπέπιπτον—καὶ κατεπάτουν*, we must evidently read *ἐπεπάτουν—καὶ κατεπατοῦντο*. Compare Herodotus, vii. 223, *κατεπατέοντο—ὑπ' ἀλλήλων*· Pausanias, x. 25, *συνεπατήθησαν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων*· Josephus, *B. J.* ii. 9, *ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταπατηθέντες ἀπώλοντο*· Herodian, vii. *ὠθούμενοι δ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πατούμενοι—ἐφθάρησαν*· Euripides, *Suppl.* 710, *Ἔκτεινον, ἐκτείνοντο*· Xenophon, *H. Gr.* iv. 3, 9, *ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπεκτείνοντο*· *Cyrop.* vii. 1, 8, *ἔπαιον, ἐπαίοντο*· Dio Cass. lxii. 16, *ἀνέτρεπον, ἀνετρέποντο*· Arrian, *E. A.* iii. 15, *ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο*· Valla too read *κατεπατοῦντο*, for his version is 'conculcabantur.'

(7.) With the incorrect position of *ἐμπαλασσόμενοι*, Dukas was the first to find fault. He would defend, however, the hyperbaton by Demosthenes, *Phil.* i. p. 53, 10. R., *οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι καταγελῶσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει, τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους*—not aware that the orator wrote, *δέει, ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀποστόλοις*: still less did he know that to this passage of Thucydides is to be referred the gloss in Suidas, *Ἐμπαλασσόμενοι· ἐμπίπτοντες εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ*, and that the historian wrote, *περί τε τοῖς δορατίοις ἐμπαλασσόμενοι καὶ ἐμπίπτοντες εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ σὺν τοῖς*

σκεύεσιν, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ κατέρρεον. It is true indeed that the words ἐμπίπτοντες εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ have been considered by some as an explanation merely of ἐμπαλασσόμενοι. But it is quite clear that no lexicographer would ever dream of such an interpretation, after Ælius Dionysius, quoted by Eustathius on Ἰλ. Ε. p. 527=399, had given the correct meaning, ἐμπλεκόμενοι καὶ περιπειρόμενοι δόρατι. And thus we not only recover another line | ἐμπίπτοντες εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ σὺν τοῖς | consisting of 27 letters, but restore likewise to its proper place the participle ἐμπαλασσόμενοι, which requires its own noun, as shown by Herodotus, vii. 85, ἐν ἕρκεσιν ἐμπαλασσόμενοι· Ælian, *H. A.* xii. 47, ἐμπαλάσσεσθαι τοῖς δικτύοις· xv. 1, ἐμπαλάσσεται τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ· *Fragm.*, τοῖς φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις ἐμπαλασσόμενοι ἀπέσφαττον αὐτοὺς ὡς πολεμίους· Polybius, *Fragm.*, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι ἀλλήλοις ἐμπαλασσόμενοι· from whence we may correct Dio Cass. xxxvi. 32, ἀλλήλοις ἐμπελαζόμενοι· lxii. 16, ἀλλήλοις ἐνεπλάζοντο, by reading ἐμπαλασσόμενοι and ἐνεπαλάσσοντο.

(8.) Arnold would translate κατέρρεον 'they sank to the bottom.' But such neither is nor could be the meaning of καταρρεῖν, which is 'to flow, or float down.' Now as it should be stated what became of those who were carried away by the stream, very opportunely do we meet with the supplement furnished by Suidas in Ἀνέφερε—Διὰ δὲ τὸ βάρος τῶν ὅπλων ἐκ τῶν καταδυομένων ἀνέφερεν οὐδὲ εἷς: which will make up two lines of the Codex Archetypus, each consisting of twenty-seven letters, if we write, what correct Greek requires, ἀνεφέρετο: and we can ascertain moreover in what state they were, who fell into the river, floated down, and were drowned. To a similar circumstance is to be referred the passage quoted by Suidas in Διανεῦσαι—καὶ διανεῦσαι ἐθελήσαντες ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπὸ τῆς πανοπλίας.

(9.) Since the neuter adjective κρημνῶδες is without regimen, Poppo would read ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα, found in two MSS., or we might write ἦν δέ τι κρημνῶδες, as in vii. 26, ἐτείχισαν ἰσθμῶδές τι χωρίον,—or, as it should be, τι τοῦ χωρίου. But then it would appear that the Syracusans occupied only a single point. I suspect Thucydides wrote, ἴν' ἀνδείραι κρημνώδεις εἰσίν. The cognate word ἀνδειράδες is found in Hesychius, but wrongly explained ὀχετοὶ ταφρώδεις, 'ditch-like channels:' for it is derived from δείρα, 'a neck,' and means 'with neck-up.' Hence ἄνδηρα, or, as it should be written ἀνδείραι, is properly explained by Harpocration, τὰ χείλη τῶν ποταμῶν; or, according to Hyperides, ἀναχώματα, 'mud-banks,' thrown up at the mouth of a river, like the Delta of the Nile. With regard to the metaphor, Klotz on Tyrtæus, p. 55, has collected a mass of words common to the body and land;

just as we say in English 'a head-land,' and 'a neck of land,' (similar to Τραχινίαν τε δειράδ' in Sophocles, *Philoct.* 492, or, as it should be, Τραχινίαν τ' ἀνδειράδ'); and as we use the termination *ness*, a corruption of the French *nez*, derived from the Latin *nasus*, 'nose,' to designate the spots that jut out from the side of a river, like the nose from the face; and hence *Sheer-ness* is in fact *Shore-nose;* and of similar origin are the words *Bow-ness*, on the lake of Windermere, *Dunge-ness*, *Inver-ness;* and hence, too, we can understand that a city of the Troad, called Ἄνδειρα, derived its name from its situation; for it was celebrated for the manufacture of orichalcum; and as minerals are not found except in hilly countries, it was placed, no doubt, like Bath and Clifton, on ground rising above an adjoining river; while with Ἄνδειρα may be compared Γάν-δειρα, corrupted into Γα-δειρα, (Cadiz,) but derived, says Steph. Byz., from γῆς δείρα. With regard to the kind of spots on the river Assinar, occupied by the Syracusans, there is one, especially on the Meuse, called Huy, between Liége and Namur, so situated upon a high neck of land, at the foot of which the river makes a bend, that the fortress on the summit commands the river up and down; and many similar spots are to be seen on the Rhine, between Coblentz and Mentz. Such, too, is the situation of the neck of land on which stands the castle at Windsor, written originally *Winde-sore*, a corruption of *Wind-shore*. Such bends were called ἀγκῶνες, as appears from Suidas, Ἀγκῶνες—αἱ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐξοχαὶ αἱ παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις. Ἴσως οὐ δυνατὸν ὂν πρὸς ἐναντίον τὸν ῥοῦν ἀναπλεῖν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν προσπιπτόντων ἀγκώνων, οὓς ἔδει κάμπτειν παρέλκοντας τὰς ναῦς.

(10.) As one cannot tell why the majority are said to drink delightedly, as if all would not have similar feelings, we might omit with six MSS. τοὺς, answering to Valla's 'multos,' not 'plerosque,' and adopt ἀσμένως, found in two MSS. and acknowledged by Valla's 'avide.' But even if ἀσμένως could mean, what it cannot, 'greedily,' still such an idea would be foreign to the style of Thucydides, who seldom speaks of the feelings of persons engaged in any act. Besides, the Syracusans lined the heights of the river, not so much to shoot at those drinking, as those who were swimming away unarmed, and thus exposed to destruction—a circumstance to which may be applied the language of Julian in *Or.* i. p. 27. D. τὸν ἐκ βελῶν οὐκ ἀπέφευγον κίνδυνον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔτι νηχόμενοι, τὰ νῶτα τρωθέντες, εἰς βύθον κατεδύοντο: while to describe those swimming away unarmed the Greek would be, ἀπονέοντας τοὺς ἀνόπλους; and as some, no doubt, escaped—as Horatius Cocles did, who says, Livy ii. 10, multis superne incidentibus telis, in-

columis ad suos tranavit—we must read *σεσωσμένους* in lieu of *ἀσμένους*; and thus they, who were drowned with their arms on, would be contrasted with those, who got off safe without their arms; while a sufficient reason would be assigned for the last-mentioned event in the security afforded by the river,—in Greek, *ἐν εὐκηλίαν διδόντι τῷ ποταμῷ*: for to this passage may be referred the gl. in Hesych. Εὐκηλία· *ἡσυχία*. And thus the historian would describe what the poet does in Ἰλ. Φ. 238, *ζωοὺς δὲ σάω κατὰ καλὰ* (read *κοῖλα*) *ῥέεθρα, Κρύπτων ἐν δίνῃσι βαθείῃσιν μεγάλῃσι*; while to prove the propriety of applying the word *εὐκηλίαν* to a state of tranquillity during a fight, it is only necessary to refer to Εὔκηλοι *πολέμιζον* in Ἰλ. P. 371. On the other hand, the Thebans are said in vii. 30, to kill such of the Thracians as were within bow-shot, and unable to reach their vessels by swimming—an art in which the majority of the Athenians, who lived upon the sea-coast, were so expert, as to ridicule a person who could not swim; as we learn from a line quoted by the Scholiast on Aristoph. *Vesp.* 953, Πεζῇ *βαδίζω· νεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι*: for so Bentley corrected that passage, by the aid of the Scholiast on *Av.* 1432, where *πεζῇ* has been preserved, but *νεῖν γὰρ* altered into *σκάπτειν*: and to a similar passage is to be referred the gl. in Hesych. Νεῖν *οὐκ οἶδε*: while with the language of Thucydides in vii. 30, may be compared with that of Xenophon in Κ. Ἀ. v. 7, 25, where *οἱ Κερασούντιοι φεύγουσι δρόμῳ καὶ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, συνέπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡμετέρων τινὲς καὶ ἐπνίγετο ὅστις μὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐπιστάμενος νεῖν*: and that of Thucydides himself in ii. 90, *ἄνδρας τε—ἀπέκτειναν ὅσοι μὴ ἐξένευσαν αὐτῶν*: where, since *αὐτῶν* could not be thus found after *ὅσοι*, and least of all at the end of a sentence, the author probably wrote—*ἐξένευσαν ἄνευ ὅπλων*—by which he meant to show how they, who escaped, were saved.

(11.) If by the words *ἐν κοίλῳ ὄντι τῷ ποταμῷ*, it is intended to show that the river flowed in a ravine, as the Sangarius did, according to Polybius, quoted by Suidas in Γάλλοι—*ἐγεφύρωσε τὸν Σαγγάριον ποταμὸν τελέως κοῖλον ὄντα καὶ δύσβατον*, Thucydides would have written *ῥέοντι*, and have placed the clause *ἦν δὲ κρημνῶδες* after *κοίλῳ*; and though Hesychius has Κοίλῃσι· *βαθείαις*, yet the gloss is to be rendered 'hollow,' *i. e.* deep, as applied to ships of heavy burden, or to the waves of the sea during a storm, as in Polyb. i. 60, quoted by Suid. in *Φορός—κοίλης καὶ τραχείας οὔσης τῆς θαλάσσης*. It is true, indeed, that a river is called *κοῖλος* by Polybius, xxii. 20; and Arrian, *E. A.* vi. 18, quoted by Bloomfield; still one cannot understand why the Syracusans should shoot at the Athenians, thrown into confusion in the deep hollows of the river; for the very depth of water would be a protec-

tion, rather than otherwise, to those who could swim; while they who could not, would be drowned without being shot at. Hence I have proposed to elicit *ἐν εὐκηλίαν διδόντι* from *ἐν κοίλῳ ὄντι*, and have considered the words *ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς* to be not only out of their place, but a corruption likewise, despite their similarity to the language of Appian in *B. C.* ii. 96, *ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐθορυβοῦντο*.

(12.) By no possibility could the allies from Peloponnesus be called *οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι*; nor, if they could, is it likely that the Peloponnesians would alone be sent into the water to destroy the enemy. Opportunely then has Longinus, Π. Ὑ. § 38, preserved the correct reading, *οἱ Συρακόσιοι*. But whence then came *Πελοποννήσιοι*? I suspect that in those letters lie hid the remains of *ὑπὸ Γυλίππου νευστῆρες*. For since Syracuse was on the sea-coast, there would, no doubt, be swimmers in the army under Gylippus, ready to go into the water to destroy the enemy, scarcely able to stand in the river, and still less to defend themselves, when thrown into confusion in the deep parts of the stream. For a similar purpose, it would seem from a passage of Arrian, quoted by Suidas in Νεῖν, did a commander order, *ὅσοι ἦσαν κουφότατοι καὶ κουφοτάτως ὡπλισμένοι καὶ τοῦ νεῖν δαημονέστατοι ἐκνήξασθαι ἀπὸ συνθήματος*. Hence I am led to believe that Thucydides wrote, *οἵ τε Συρακόσιοι ὑπὸ Γυλίππου νευστῆρες ἐπικαταβάντες τοὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μόλις στάντας καὶ ὀλισθοῦσι ποσὶ ταρασσομένους ἔσφαζον*: for thus we not only get rid of the unintelligible *μάλιστα*, but can perceive, that as Achilles, when struck by a wave of the Scamander, *οὔ τι πόδεσσιν Εἶχε στηρίξασθαι*, so the Athenians with difficulty preserved their footing in a swollen river, and were thrown into confusion by their feet slipping: for the Assinar was, no doubt, like the Kentrites, at present Kabouhr, described by Xenophon in Κ. Ἀ. iv. 3, 6, *τραχὺς μεγάλοις λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς*: and while the remainder of the description in the *Anabasis*—*Καὶ οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἥρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἴ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγίγνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ ἄλλα βέλη*—forms the best commentary on Thucydides, it is singularly fortunate that Suidas should have preserved some words belonging to this passage in Ἦ, and more fully in Χθαμαλόν,—*δοκιμάζων ἦ ἅμα μὲν στερεὰ, ἅμα δὲ χθαμαλὰ ἦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ*; where, by inserting what the sense requires, *ὅτε τις ἦν* before *δοκιμάζων*, we shall recover two lines of the Codex Archetypus, each consisting of twenty-seven letters.

(13.) Although the vulgate *τοῖς πολλοῖς* is quoted by Longinus, and seems to be acknowledged by Lucian, *de Conscrib. Hist.* § 38, *ἐφονεύοντο πίνοντες οἱ πολλοὶ*, still one would expect something more graphic to give a suitable finish to a description, which Thucydides

alone could have penned in language striking alike from its brilliancy of colour and minuteness of detail. Instead then of τοῖς πολλοῖς, I suspect he wrote τοῖς ἀπολάψουσι. For though the word λάπτειν is generally applied to animals, as in Ælian, *H. A.* (οἱ κύνες) ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πίνουσιν ἐπικύπτοντες ἅμα καὶ, ὡς διψῶσι, λάπτοντες, still in the present case it would be peculiarly appropriate even to human beings; since water, mixed with blood and mud, can hardly be drunk as a mere liquid. With the whole description—εἰς πότον κύπτουσιν ἐπί τε ἀντλίαν ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ—τοῖς ἀπολάψουσι—may be compared the language of Holy Writ; for in *Judges*, vii. 5, Gideon selects the three hundred who were to march against the Midianites from amongst those "who lapped of the water (of the well of Harod) as a dog lappeth, and of those who bowed down upon their knees to drink;" or as Origen, quoted by Holmes, has it, "all who hastened to drink the water with the tongue, and who took it up in their hands;" where the concluding words may be illustrated by Apuleius, in *Metam.* i. p. 14, "in planiorem ripæ marginem complicitus in genua approbat se, avidus adfectans poculum;" and the passages quoted by Pricæus, from Martial, "Et bibis immundam cum cane pronus aquam;" and from Hieronym. *de Paulo et Antonio*, "Paululum aquæ in fonte prono ore libaverunt;" and Agatharcides, Ἀπερεισάμενοι τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ θέντες τὰ γόνατα βοηδὸν πίνουσι: to which Mr. Buckley, a young learned friend, adds from Nemesianus, *Ecl.* iii. 49, "Concavat ille manus, palmasque in pocula vertit; Pronus at iste lacu bibit."

Such then are the objections to which the vulgate is exposed, and such the means of correcting the errors to be found there; while as regards the Supplements, of which there is not the slightest vestige in the MSS. of Thucydides, I have already pointed out one preserved by Suidas in Ἦ, and Χθαμαλόν: the two others will, however, be best understood after it is seen what Thucydides did in reality write. The following, then, unless I am greatly deceived, are the very words of the original, which it has been my good fortune to find, only because I have constantly refused to adopt the opinion of those, who assert that the vulgate text has been preserved immaculate by transcribers that did not and could not err.

Νικίας δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἦν ἡμέρα, ἀγωνιᾷ τε καὶ στρατιὰν ἐξάγει ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων φέρουσαν τὸν κίνδυνον. Οἱ δ' αὖ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι προσέκειντο τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, πανταχῆ ἄποθεν βάλλοντές τε καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἳ ἐκ τοξευμάτων ἅμ' ἐβλάπτοντο καὶ ὅτε συμφέροιντο σχέδην μαχόμενοι, ἠπείγοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀσίναρον ποταμὸν, ἅμα μὲν βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς πανταχόθεν προσβολῆς ἱππέων ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ὄχλου, οἰόμενοι ῥᾷόν

τι ἔσεσθαι, ἢν διαβῶσι τὸν ποταμὸν, ἅμα δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας καὶ τῇ τοῦ πιεῖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ· ὡς δὲ ἐγίγνοντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐς πότον κύπτουσιν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἐπί τ' ἀντλίαν ἀμφοτέραις χερσί· πᾶς δέ τις διαβῆναι πρῶτος αὐτὸς βουλόμενος, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπικείμενοι χαλεπωτάτην δὴ τὴν διάβασιν ἐποίουν· ἅθρόοι γὰρ ἀναγκαζόμενοι χωρεῖν ἐπεπάτουν τε καὶ κατεπατοῦντο, ἀλλήλοις τε περιπετεῖς τινες γενόμενοι ἀπώλλυντο· ἕτεροι δὲ τοῖς δορατίοις ἐμπαλασσόμενοι καὶ ἐμπίπτοντες ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ σὺν τοῖς σκεύεσιν, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ κατέῤῥεον· διὰ δὲ τὸ βάρος τῶν ὅπλων ἐκ τῶν καταδυομένων ἀνεφέρετο οὐδὲ εἷς· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, οὓς, ὅπη ὕποπτοι ἦσαν ἐπελεύσεσθαι οἱ πολέμιοι, προκαθίστη τοξότας, σκοτιαῖος αὐτὸς ἰὼν περιΐστησιν αὖ ὁ Λάκων· περιστάντες δ' οἱ Συρακόσιοι, οὗ ἀνδείραι κρημνώδεις εἰσὶν, ἄνωθεν ἔβαλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπονέοντας τοὺς ἀνόπλους, σεσωσμένους δὲ ἐν εὐκηλίαν διδόντι τῷ ποταμῷ· οὐκ ἐξικνεῖτο γὰρ τὰ βέλη διὰ τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα ἀξύμμετρον ὂν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς βολάς· ἄλλῃ δὲ ἄλλοι οἱ ὑπὸ Γυλίππου νευστῆρες Συρακόσιοι ἐπικαταβάντες τοὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μόλις στάντας καὶ ὀλισθοῦσι ποσὶ ταρασσομένους ἔσφαζον, ὅτε τις ἦν δοκιμάζων ᾗ ἅμα μὲν στερεὰ, ἅμα δὲ χθαμαλὰ ἦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εὐθὺς διέφθαρτο· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐπίνετο μεστόν τε πηλοῦ ῥυπατωμένον τε, καὶ περιμάχητον ἦν τοῖς ἀπολάψουσι.

Here, although ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν would be correct as regards the language, yet one would expect rather some words to express the temper of mind in which Nicias led on the detachment, and the danger the troops were enduring. Opportunely then has Suidas the gl. Ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἀγωνιούμενος· καὶ στρατιὰν ἐξάγει ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων φέρουσαν τὸν κίνδυνον; where, if we suppose ἀγωνιᾷ τε to have dropped out after ἀγωνιούμενος, we shall have two passages of two different authors, and perceive that, when the words ἀγωνιᾷ τε had been corrupted into ἐγένετο and the clause ὑπὲρ—κίνδυνον omitted, ἦν and καὶ would be erased as being both superfluous. With regard to the sense, στρατιὰν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων φέρουσαν τὸν κίνδυνον would be the counterpart of αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύοντες, applied to the army in vii. 75; while the expression in Thucydides may be compared with ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον ἀναῤῥίψαι in Agathias, ii. p. 39, (to whom is to be referred the gl. in Suidas, Ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἀναῤῥιπτεῖν); and in Plutarch, *Alexander*, § 17, ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων; and *Fabricius*, § 14, τὸν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀναῤῥίψων κύβον: by the aid of which I have in my *Poppo's Prolegom.* p. 306, restored Demosthenes, Περὶ Στεφαν. § 278, ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι κινδυνεύεται, by reading περὶ, similar to περὶ τῶν μεγίστων—κινδυνεύοντα in Xenophon, *Agesil.* § 2: and to περὶ τῶν ἁπάντων ἀγωνίσασθαι in Thucyd. vi. 16; to ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἀναῤῥιπτεῖν κύβον in Procop. p. 216, 28; to περὶ ὅλων ἀπέρριπτε τὴν πολιορκίαν quoted by Suidas in Γεφυρίζων

from Dio Cass. *Exc.* Vales. p. 649; and to *οὐδαμῶς ἔκρινεν ἐκκυβεύειν οὐδὲ παραβάλλεσθαι τοῖς ὅλοις* in Polyb. iii. 94; from whence we may correct a fragment in Suid. Δείσας by reading *ὁ δὲ δείσας μὴ ᾖ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ὁ ἀγὼν, τὴν χώραν ἐκλείπειν ἔγνω*—where *ᾖ* has been lost through *μὴ*, and *ὁ ἀγὼν* through *ὅλων*, as I might have observed in my *Poppo's Prolegom.* p. 142. Nor ought I to omit to state in support of *ἀγωνιᾷ*, that the Athenians in vii. 67, *ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καθεστήκασιν—τύχῃ ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι σπεύδοντες*—where Duker was the first to supply *σπεύδοντες*, furnished by the Scholiast, and supported by Plutarch in *Brut.* i. p. 1002, B. *ἔσπευδε τῷ ταχίστῳ τῶν κινδύνων διακριθεὶς*; while as regards the verb *ἀγωνιῶ*, although Hesych. has Ἀγωνιῶ, *κινδυνεύω*, and Suidas quotes two passages from Polybius in that sense, to which may be added a third in Suid. Εὐρεσιλόγος—*Ἔχων δὲ καὶ πλείω λέγειν ἀγωνιῶ μὴ δόξω τισὶν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίως εὑρεσιλογεῖν*—yet it means likewise 'to be in a state of anxiety,' as in Plutarch, *Cæsar*, § 46, and *Demetrius*, § 17, quoted by H. Stephens, who has likewise referred to Polyb. xi. 30, in Suidas, Διαγωνιάσαντες· *διενθυμηθέντες· Οἱ δὲ διαγωνιάσαντες μὴ διὰ τὸ προηττῆσθαι δόξωσι καταπεπλῆχθαι τοῖς ὅλοις, ἐξῆγον ἅμα φωτί*—a passage the most apt for our present purpose. But the most remarkable confirmation of my views is furnished not only by Thucydides, who says, in vii. 45, of those engaged at Epipolæ, that *κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν βιασθέντες ἄλλεσθαι ψιλοὶ [ἄνευ τῶν ἀσπίδων] οἱ μὲν ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ δὲ ἐσώθησαν*, but by Suidas likewise, who has in Ἀξύμμετρον preserved the words, *οὐκ ἐξικνοῦντο γὰρ τὰ βέλη διὰ τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα ἀξύμμετρον ὂν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς βολάς*: for though Thucydides has, in vii. 79, *διικνοῦντο ῥᾷον οἱ ἄνωθεν*, yet *ἐξικνεῖσθαι* is equally correct, as shown by Procop. *B. P.* ii. 26, *ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὔτε πυρφόροι οἱστοὶ οὔτε ἄλλα βέλη ἐξικνεῖσθαι εἶχον*, and the passages produced in Sturzius' Lexicon Xenophonteum; and it is to this very place in Thucydides we may refer the unexplained gl. in Hesych. Ἐξικνεῖται, and read Ἐξικνεῖτο; while by the aid of the last letters, *ολας*, I have restored the lost words *ἄλλῃ δ' ἄλλοι*: for it is evident that the Syracusan swimmers would not all go to the same spot, but rather to different places, for the purpose of killing those in the water.

To the preceding objections may be added another relating to the words *παραστάντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι*. For though it is stated in vii. 74, that some troops under Gylippus were sent forwards to block up the roads, and to pre-occupy the fords of the rivers, yet it should be told how the Syracusans were enabled to line the heights after the Athenians had swerved from their anticipated route. Opportunely then do we meet with two Supplements in Suidas; one in Προσκαθίστη—

Ὅπη ὕποπτοι ἦσαν ἐπελεύσεσθαι οἱ πολέμιοι, προσκαθίστη· and the other in *Περιίσταμαι*. For by uniting the two it is easy to see that Thucydides wrote—*ποταμοῦ, οὗς, ὅπη ὕποπτοι ἦσαν ἐπελεύσεσθαι οἱ πολέμιοι, προκαθίστη τοξότας, σκοτιαῖος αὐτὸς ἰὼν περιίστησιν αὖ ὁ Λάκων· περιστάντες δ' οἱ Συρακόσιοι*—To complete, however, the sense, I have inserted *ὁ Λάκων*, and elicited *σκοτιαῖος* from *τοξότας*, and *αὐτὸς ἰὼν* from *αὐτῶν*. For I have shown in *Poppo's Prolegomena*, p. 208, that the Lacedæmonians were wont to manœuvre during the night; and so did Demosthenes, when he sent to take possession of a hill, as stated in iii. 12, from whence it is easy to correct iv. 68, by reading *ὁπλῖται —τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἱππεῖς ὅλην τὴν νύκτα πορευόμενοι*—instead of *οἱ τὴν*, and not by omitting *οἱ*, as some Editors would do, on the authority of seven MSS. For *ὅλην τὴν νύκτα* is found in Aristoph. *Nub.* 75, and *Eccles.* 1091; *ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς* in Appian, *B. C.* iii. 51; and similarly *ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν* in Thucyd. vii. 38, and *τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην* in iv. 69.

Lastly, what should indeed have been mentioned before, it ought to be told with what effect the Syracusans hurled all kinds of missiles: I have therefore inserted before *ἠπείγοντο* the words found in Suidas, *Σχέδην—Οἱ ἐκ τοξευμάτων (ἅμ') ἐβλάπτοντο, καὶ ὅτε συμφέροιντο σχέδην μαχόμενοι.*

HELLESPONT
Kum Kaleh
Camp of the Greeks
Fountain
Yeni Sheher
Sigeium
Thrasmas
Ford
Alluvium
T. of Ajax
Rhœtium
Dumbrekchai
Halilana
Simois Riv.
Hissarlik
NOVUM ILIUM
Kallicolone
RIVER MENDEREH
Kalafatlee
Yeni Keui
Ancient
SCAMANDER
Kalafatlee Asmak
Bridge
Beshik Tepeh
Paleocastro
Canal
Mill
Jiglaen Marsh
Gate Ereneus
TROY
The Pagus Iliensis of Strabo
Temple of Apollo
Thymbrius R.
Ujek Tepeh
Lycus Cimmerus
Beshika Bay
Menderech Chai
Bounarbashi
Kirk Guz
40 Springs
Baalik
3 Tumuli
Lechevaliers
TROY
Kara Dagh
Alexandrian Troy
Plain of
TROY
and Adjacent Country
founded on the Admiralty Survey by
Capt. Graves & Lieut. Spratt R.N.
Novum Ilium underlined ..... Red
Lechevaliers ..... Blue
Strabo's & the Authors ..... Yellow
1 0 2 3
Engraved by J. & C. Walker

IX.—AN EXCURSUS ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE HOMERIC ILIUM.

BY DR. H. N. ULRICHS,

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TRANSLATED BY PATRICK COLQUHOUN, LL.D.

WITH A MAP.

(Read Dec. 1845, and January, 1846.)

PREFATORY NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

In offering the following Excursus to the notice of the student of Homer, a few prefatory remarks are deemed necessary, in order to show the claims it possesses on the attention of the learned.

The translator, during a residence of three years in Constantinople as Hanseatic Chargé d'Affaires, had twice visited the plain of Troy with the object of ascertaining, if possible, the true site of the ancient city of Ilium, having previously prepared himself by a careful comparison of the different writers on this subject with one another, and again with Homer, his scholiasts, and then of more modern authors whose collateral testimony bore on the point at issue. Although it was evident from this investigation that the exact site of the Homeric Ilium had not been ascertained,—that neither the view taken by the Romans, nor, much less, that of Lechevalier, was correct,—yet the problem remained still unsolved in the translator's mind: he did not, however, venture to rely on his own judgment respecting so difficult a question.

In December, 1843, the translator visited the Grecian capital, on diplomatic business, where he had the good fortune to become intimate with Dr. Henry Ulrichs, of Bremen, one of the first Greek scholars and antiquaries of his time; who had, during a series of years, occupied the Professor's chair of Latin Literature in the university of Athens, of which he had been one of the principal promoters, after having successfully carried out there, at the request of Government, his plan for the institution of a gymnasium, or public school.

An Excursus by Dr. von Eckenbrecher, in favour of the Ilium of the Roman era, commonly called *Novum Ilium*, being the site of the ancient Homeric city, which appeared in the early part of 1843, called the Professor's attention to the subject. Dr. von Eckenbrecher has restored the ancient nomenclature to the two principal streams of the Trojan plain, and his pamphlet was so far valuable; but the evidence he brought as to the site of the city itself was far from conclusive.

The Professor had at this period not yet visited the localities himself; a circumstance greatly in favour of the presumption of his views being unprejudiced.

No plan could have been better calculated to elicit the truth than that pursued by the Professor, which he commenced by collecting all passages in any way bearing on the subject, and then drew his conclusions from the preponderating evidence: this evidence was concentrated in a spot on the plain, but this spot was neither Novum Ilium, nor Lechevalier's mountain. All the Professor now required was a low hill (*λόφος οὐχ ὑψηλὸς*) at this point: should such a hill exist, there was no doubt in his mind as to its being the site of the Homeric Troy. No such eminence, however, was marked decidedly, or at all distinctly, in the different maps of that part of Asia, except, perhaps, in D'Anville's: to ascertain this fact, it was therefore necessary to visit the plain, and compare its actual state with recorded testimony, with a view to discover how far they confirmed each other, and where the *Pagus Iliensium*, or village of the Ilienses, was formerly situated.

To enable the reader more clearly to see the force of the arguments in favour of the view taken in the following Excursus, it is advisable to give a short and succinct synopsis of the chief heads of the arguments adduced by the author in favour of Strabo's site of the Homeric Ilium: to this end a map is annexed, for more ready reference, on which is inscribed,—

1. The site of Novum Ilium, underlined *red.*
2. That of Lechevalier, *blue.*
3. That of Strabo, and the Author, which is left plain.

The chief arguments against New Ilium are:—

That it was too near to the shore.

That the camp of the Greeks would be more clearly visible from the Acropolis of New Ilium, than from any intermediate point; (consequently the watchman referred to in Homer would have been useless.)

That this site cannot be run round, nor could a chariot-way, from the nature of the ground, have ever existed round it.

That it is contrary to the opinion of Strabo, himself a geographer, who wrote a description of the plains of Troy, citing Demetrius of Scepsis, a native of the country.

That the distances do not agree with those inferred from classical authors.

That Hercules could not have approached without meeting Laomedon.

That the area is too large for cities of that period, according to the measurements of those heretofore traced.

That there is no marsh in the vicinity which corresponds with the Homeric description.

The arguments against Lechevalier's site are:—

That it can neither be run round, nor could a chariot-way exist.

That it is on the wrong side of the Scamander, so that Priam must have crossed the river twice in returning from the camp, or not at all, whereas he crossed it once only.

That the watchman would have been useless, owing to the great height of the Bounárbashi mountain.

The assertion of Plato, that it was placed on a low hill.

That the tumuli would be inside the city, contrary to the custom of the ancients and Homer's testimony.

That there are four of these tumuli on this site, whereas only that of Hector is mentioned, and no others alluded to by Homer, as would have been the case had they existed.

Lastly, that there is positive evidence of the town of Scamandria having stood here.

The arguments in favour of *Professor Ulrichs' site*, on the authority of Strabo, are:—

The relative distances.

The necessity of a watchman to give notice of the approach of the Greeks.

The facility of running round it.

The marsh near the site.

The tumuli of Hector and the Æsyetes, where the Homeric description requires them.

The impossibility of seeing the Greek camp.

The admeasurement of the site according with the area of ancient cities now to be traced, as, for example, Agamemnon's capital.

The description of the hill agreeing with Plato's testimony as a *low hill*, and with Homer's as an eminence *in the plain*.

The supposition that Hercules came up the valley of Simois, while Laomedon descended by that of Scamander, thus passing each other without meeting.

The arguments in favour of the Professor's site of the Greek camp at Sigeium are of two sorts; *negative* with respect to the other two sites, and *affirmative* in respect to Strabo's.—Of the first description are:—

That it was not at Rhœteium, as some would have it, contrary to Homeric testimony, but at Sigeium.

That the area between the two promontories would be too great for a camp where the troops are said "to have been crowded."

That it would lie in a marsh flooded in winter, and that the Scamander would run through the middle of it.

That there would not have been sufficient depth of water for the galleys to approach.

That the shore on the N. E. side, where Naustathmon has been placed, is not high, as represented.

That it would have been on the wrong side of the Scamander.

Lastly, that these sites are contrary to the testimony of Strabo, and that the Throsmos can in neither case be found in any near part of the plain.

The *affirmative* arguments are:—

That the site assigned by the Professor to Naustathmon is in accordance with Strabo's description.

That the Throsmos is to be found at the ford, most probably that mentioned by Homer.

That the space is small, as represented by the poet.

That the Scamander would form a natural defence to the camp.

That the tumuli of Achilles and Antilochus fall just outside the camp, and that of Ajax at a distance, as required.

The existence of a fountain formerly where Achilles first leaped on shore, giving rise to the legend of the "fountain of the two feet;" and its existence at the present day, though it ceases to flow.

The high shore.

The absence of a *port*,—a word which Homer studiously avoids in speaking of the Greek camp.

The convenience, dryness, and security of the position against inundation and surprise.

It is worthy of observation, that Lechevalier and his disciples, in order to sustain their theory, have found it necessary to change not only the names of rivers and their relative positions, but to misplace all the palpable localities.

These prefatory remarks are indispensable to show that the Professor adopted a fairer and more judicious system than his predecessors; most of whom first visited the plain,

fixed on what they considered a good position for a city in the present day, and then strained classical evidence to prove their theory, selecting such passages as might favour it, misinterpreting or forcing others, and utterly omitting those which did not meet their views.

The Professor, on the contrary, proceeded otherwise: he fixed on a spot where the ancient city ought to have been according to classical evidence, and then examined the localities in confirmation of such evidence. But he had scarcely finished his notes, and returned to Athens, when he was attacked there by a sudden malady, which, after a few days, proved fatal.

On the translator's return to Athens, in his way from Syria and Egypt, he learned with heartfelt sorrow that he had lost an esteemed and valued friend, and the world a most distinguished scholar. He let a tear fall on his premature grave, and returned to Europe.

The works of the Professor, chiefly on the subject of ancient topographies, were already well known and highly prized in Germany: his Latin and Greek Lexicon, the result of five years' labour, and completed shortly before his death, gained for him the distinguished title of Lexicographer. In addition to the present Excursus, he left numerous MSS., most of them unfortunately in an unfinished state, but containing a clue to questions still either in abeyance or erroneously treated.

The present Excursus, which was intended as the forerunner of a much more extended work on Homeric topography, has been placed at the disposal of the Royal Society of Literature, in consequence of a desire expressed by the Professor to the translator that it should *also* appear in England: the original, however, has not yet been published.

The notes have been added by the translator, in conformity with the intention of the author, and, according to his own judgment, with a view to a more easy reference and a more clear demonstration of the text.

TRANSLATION.

THE theatre of the Iliad was already, at an early period, a favourite point for travellers, and almost as much an object of learned research as it has been in later times. In Strabo's age, the ancients held two different opinions respecting the site of Homer's city: the one, scientific, placing it at the village called the village of the Ilienses (*κώμη Ἰλιέων*), at the bottom of the Scamandrian valley; and the other, the vulgar one, according to which the Æolian Ilium, founded later, near the confluence of the Scamander and the Simois, was supposed to have stood on the ancient spot.

To these opinions Lechevalier has added a third, which appears to gain ground, and which has lately found a spirited defender in the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' of 7th Feb. 1843. Lechevalier rejects both the ancient opinions, and places the renowned city on the rocky eminence of Baalik, above the present village of Bounárbashi (fountain-head). Dr. von Eckenbrecher has lately opposed the innovation of Lechevalier in a dissertation on the site of the Homeric Ilium, and has supported the claim of Novum Ilium with much acuteness. Lechevalier and his disciples, in order to carry out their view with some appearance of consistency, were obliged to change the position and names of the rivers Scamander and Simois, of the sepulchral mound of the Æsyetes, and of many other places and circumstances; and, amongst other things, to charge Strabo and Demetrius with the grossest errors. Dr. von Eckenbrecher has the merit of having restored to the principal rivers already mentioned the names assigned to them by antiquity,

as M. D'Anville had laid them down in his map of the Troad, on the authority of ancient authors. The identity of the Æolian Ilium with the Trojan city, however, as insisted on by Dr. von Eckenbrecher, I hope to be able to prove an untenable theory, partly on the grounds given by Strabo, partly on others which have been passed over by that author.

Whenever I have occupied myself with the topography of the Troad, it has appeared to me to be, above all, important to designate the situation of the village of the Ilienses with more precision than has been done hitherto, and then to ascertain if Homer's history can be identified with that spot, as Strabo asserts: it was to this point, therefore, that I directed my particular attention during my visit to the plain itself.

On the 7th of July, 1843, I landed in Beshika Bay, a roadstead much frequented by ships of war, with my much-esteemed friend Dr. P. Colquhoun. By the gracious condescension of His Majesty the King of Greece, the royal yacht had been placed at our disposal for our contemplated voyage to Troy, Rhodes, &c. We had arrived by way of Syros and Tenedos, whence, after a short stay, we sailed over to the afore-mentioned bay, and cast anchor.

The roadstead is open, but perfectly safe in summer, when no strong south or west winds are to be feared. The shore of the bay is sandy and very shallow, so much so, that it is impossible to land dry on any part of the strand, even in a light boat. An extensive marsh, fed by a mill-stream brought hither from Bounárbashi, stretches along the coast, emptying itself into the sea towards the northernmost part of the bay. In

this marsh were innumerable frogs, whose croaking so disturbed the stillness of the night, that we could hardly get to sleep in the vessel, in spite of the distance at which the shallowness of the water obliged us to anchor from the shore. On the other side of the mouth of the stream, a hill, with traces of old fortifications and rocky cliffs, projects into the sea, bearing the vague name Paleôcastro, which may possibly be the ancient Achaion or Agamia. Near to it lies the circular mound of earth called Beshik Tepeh (cradle-mound): it is, however, uncertain whether it be artificial or natural.

We went round the marsh, which is thickly grown with sedge and reeds on the south side, and arrived in half an hour at the water-mill which is driven by the brook. According to the unanimous opinion of the Turkish and Greek peasantry of the neighbourhood, this bed was dug and banked by a certain Capudàn Pashà, Ibrahim by name, after the conquest of the Peloponnesus, the Moriot prisoners being employed in the work: thus the abundant water of the Bounárbashi springs is led hither to drive the mill, which is at present the property of the Sultan, and yields a revenue by no means inconsiderable, inasmuch as it drives seven pairs of stones, and works continuously. There being no other water-mills in the neighbourhood, the inhabitants bring their corn hither to be ground from the whole of the surrounding country, even as far as the inner Dardanelles and the island of Tenedos. According to Lechevalier, this brook was the Scamander, and its dam a very ancient work, notwithstanding that it differs nothing from numberless other mill-streams in and out of Greece, which have been diverted from their original bed in like manner. The water, flowing in equal

volume in summer and winter, is led forward in a horizontal bed by means of the above-mentioned dams, which run along its right bank: a greater fall being thus obtained in the neighbourhood of the mill, the volume of the water is not much more considerable than that of the Ismenos, which is diverted in a similar way.

While I was occupied in obtaining some information from the miller, in which the knowledge of Turkish possessed by my travelling companion was of material service, some Greek peasants arrived from the neighbouring village of Yenì Keui, (in modern Greek Νεοχώρι,) from whom we hired horses for the prosecution of our journey. After the usual preparations, we set off for Bounárbashi, and, by turning off a little to the right hand from that road, soon reached Ujek Tepeh, the highest and most considerable of the tumuli of the neighbourhood; visible at a considerable distance, both from the sea and from different points in the plain. It lies on the line of hills which extends itself from Ida to Yenì Shehèr or Sigeium, called by the Greeks Hagios Elías; it is about 70 or 80 feet high, its base having a diameter of 260 feet: on the top is a slight platform, from which there is a beautiful panoramic view. On the south-west is discovered the steep abrupt point of Ida, now Kaz Dagh or the Goose Mountain, towering above the Kara Dagh or Black Mountain, and the rounded fore-hills, dark with forests and thick underwood; nor is the Ida, in whose highest ravines lies a never-melting mass of snow, less rich in springs, wood, or game, than in Homer's time. It has often been asserted, as Plato says[1] of the mountains in Attica, that the Ida was once more

[1] Plat. Leg.

thickly wooded, and had on this account more bountiful springs, and that the decrease of both was to be ascribed to the frequent burning of the forests; from which it would appear that the ancients possessed no organized system of wood and forest administration to prevent the conflagrations, the destructive ravages of which Homer has used as a poetical allegory. Where the soil is adapted to bear wood, the forest grows up again of its own accord, as may be seen in northern Eubœa. According to the opinion of Pliny,[2] forests exhaust the springs, while thinning the woods, on the contrary, causes their re-appearance. With reference to Ida in particular, its tops are still so woody, that most of the ships belonging to the surrounding coast and neighbouring islands, even down to Samos, are almost exclusively built of materials drawn thence.

Towards the north-east, you look down from Ujek Tepeh on the wide green valley, which is likewise bounded by the second line of the fore-hills or spurs of the Ida, extending to the Hellespont: this valley is traversed in its whole extent by the Scamander or Menderèh of the present day, whose stream a thick uninterrupted line of willows and plane-trees, over which towers here and there a tall majestic elm, shades and conceals. Like a dark green riband lies the river with its windings: on the lighter ground of the surrounding fields and meadows, where the valley opens towards the Hellespont, a third ridge

[2] C. Plinius, Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi. cap. 4.

"Nascuntur fontes decisis plerumque sylvis, quos arborum alimenta consumebant: sicut in Hæmo, obsidente Gallos Cassandro, cum valli gratia sylvas occidissent. Plerumque vero damnosi torrentes corrivantur, detracta collibus sylva, continere nimbos ac digerere consueta."

rises in the east, beyond the second line already mentioned; on the western extremity of which, near the strand, is situated the tomb of Ajax, and opposite to it, on the south side of the Menderèh, the tomb of Achilles, near Yenì Shehèr, behind the Turkish fortification Kum Kalèh, or the Sand Castle, so called in allusion to the alluvial soil on which it is built: on the extreme end of the second or middle ridge, towards the Hellespont, stood once the Æolian Ilium. On running the eye along towards the right from this point to where the ridge joins the higher spurs of the Ida, you discover at the foot of the mountain immediately abutting on the valley, the high cultivated eminence of Atchik Keui, among bushes and oaks, where in remoter ages the Trojan Ilium stood, and at a later period the village of the Ilienses, as I trust to be able to prove satisfactorily in the sequel. From this side of Atchik Keui and the Menderèh, which here first enters the plain, you look on Bounárbashi, and near to it is a pool thickly overgrown with bushes, on the edge of which rises a line of poplars. The character of this scenery forms a strong contrast to that of Greece; all is green, and intersected with brooks, meadows, and corn-fields, throughout which lie scattered the noble Vallonea oak and other trees, here and there forming clumps, meeting the eye on all sides: the olive-tree of Greece is, however, nowhere to be seen. The hills in the neighbourhood are low and rounded, and intersected by paths; large herds of cattle browse in the lower hollows, and sheep and goats on the bushy eminences.

The Menderèh has a broad bed with a sandy bottom, which it does not half fill in summer: in winter, on the contrary, it overflows its banks, flooding the

lower part of the plain, often indeed laying the whole of it under water; and this natural occurrence forms the best reason for the disappearance of the sepulchral mound of Ilus, which Homer places in the middle of the plain. Even the high plain of Bairametsch, lying south-east of the village of Bounárbashi and the Kaz Dagh, is exposed to these contingencies. The ancient Cebrenia is also occasionally converted into a lake in winter, and simply for this reason, viz., that the narrow rocky ravine near Bounárbashi, through which the Menderèh must force itself into the Trojan plain, does not suffice to carry off the great mass of water with sufficient expedition; and from this circumstance probably arose the old legend that "Hercules dug an outway for the Scamander," which is on this account called the *Ditch* of the Man (*σκάμμα ἀνδρός*): the same legend is related of the Peneus in the Vale of Tempe.

I call the Menderèh Scamander, because I hold that, in accordance with the testimony of the classics, it can bear no other name. No one will doubt but that Strabo, in his description of the Trojan plain, means this river, notwithstanding that Lechevalier and many subsequent writers on this subject, arguing upon the false hypothesis originated by him, assume that the geographer mistook the largest and most renowned of the Idæan rivers. So bold an assertion as this can only be admitted into argument, on the supposition of his having been convicted of other and similar errors; but still less can it be admitted that Demetrius, the forerunner of Strabo in Trojan topography, and born at Scepsis, in Ida,[3] should not have known the proper

[3] Strabo, XIII. p. 602.
ὡς ἂν ὁ ἐπιχώριος ἀνὴρ, ὁ Δημήτριος, τότε μὲν οὕτως λέγει περὶ αὐτῶν·

name for a river which flowed on the boundaries of his native country. Both these high authorities represent the Scamander as descending from the summits of Ida, and discharging itself at Sigeium, as the Menderèh does at the present day, after having traversed the Trojan plain. Hellanicus of Mitylene, one of the oldest scholiasts of Homer, a contemporary of Herodotus, and on all other questions an opponent of Strabo, represents the river as entering into the plain from Ida, swelled by heavy rains, and deluging it, exactly as the geographer does; nor is it improbable that the poet borrowed the idea [4] of the struggle of

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Ἔστι γὰρ λόφος τις τῆς Ἴδης Κότυλος· ὑπέρκειται δ' οὗτος ἑκατόν που καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίοις Σκήψεως ἐξ οὗ ὅ τε Σκάμανδρος ῥεῖ, καὶ ὁ Γράνικος, καὶ Αἴσηπος· οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἄρκτον, καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα, ἐκ πλειόνων πηγῶν συλλειβόμενοι, ὅ τε Σκάμανδρος ἐπὶ δύσιν ἐκ μιᾶς πηγῆς· πᾶσαι δ' ἀλλήλαις πλησιάζουσιν ἐν εἴκοσι σταδίων περιεχόμεναι διαστήματι.

[4] Il. xxi. 233.

Ἦ, καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν δουρικλυτὸς ἔνθορε μέσσῳ,
Κρημνοῦ ἀπαΐξας· ὁ δ' ἐπέσσυτο, οἴδματι θύων·
Πάντα δ' ὄρινε ῥέεθρα κυκώμενος· ὧσε δὲ νεκροὺς
Πολλοὺς, οἳ ῥα κατ' αὐτὸν ἔσαν ἅλις, οὓς κτάν' Ἀχιλλεύς·
Τοὺς ἔκβαλλε θύραζε, μεμυκὼς ἠΰτε ταῦρος,
Χέρσονδε· ζωοὺς δὲ σάω κατὰ καλὰ ῥέεθρα,
Κρύπτων ἐν δίνῃσι βαθείῃσιν μεγάλῃσι.
Δεινὸν δ' ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆα κυκώμενον ἵστατο κῦμα,
Ὤθει δ' ἐν σάκεϊ πίπτων ῥόος, οὐδὲ πόδεσσιν
Εἶχε στηρίξασθαι· ὁ δὲ πτελέην ἕλε χερσὶν
Εὐφυέα, μεγάλην· ἡ δ' ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἐριποῦσα
Κρημνὸν ἅπαντα διῶσεν, ἐπέσχε δὲ καλὰ ῥέεθρα
Ὄζοισι πυκινοῖσι· γεφύρωσε δέ μιν αὐτὸν,
Εἴσω πᾶσ' ἐριποῦσ'· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐκ δίνης ἀνορούσας,
Ἤϊξε πεδίοιο ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πέτεσθαι,
Δείσας· οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔληγε μέγας θεὸς, ὥρτο δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν
Ἀκροκελαινιόων, ἵνα μιν παύσειε πόνοιο
Δῖον Ἀχιλλῆα, Τρώεσσι δὲ λοιγὸν ἀλάλκοι.

the River God with the hero Achilles from the frequent recurrence of this circumstance. The precise description of the river by Homer,—its whirling stream, sandy bed, and high banks lined with elms and willows, but more particularly the circumstance of his making it flow between the city of Priam and the camp of the Achaians into the wide bosom of the sea,[5]— adapts itself to the Menderèh alone: thus also the ancient artist, whose productions Philostratus the younger has described in a lively and graphic style,[6] pictured the country to himself. On one side of the picture were to be seen the walls of Troy, on the other the ships of the Achaians on the Hellespont, and between both a plain traversed by the Scamander: on one side of the plain he

[5] Il. xxi. 124.

ἀλλὰ Σκάμανδρος
Οἴσει δινήεις εἴσω ἁλὸς εὐρέα κόλπον.

[6] Philostr. Icon. x.

πόλις μὲν αὕτη Ἴλιος ὀφρυόεσσα, καθ' Ὅμηρον, περιθεῖ δὲ αὐτὴν τεῖχος, οἷον καὶ θεοὺς μὴ ἀπαξιῶσαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν χειρός· ναύσταθμόν τε ἐπὶ θάτερα, καὶ στένος Ἑλλησπόντου διάῤῥους, Ἀσίαν Εὐρώπης διείργων, τοῦν μέσῳ δὲ πεδίον ποταμῷ διαιρεῖται Ξάνθῳ, γέγραπται δὲ, οὐ μορμύρων ἀφρῷ, οὐδ' οἷος ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Πηλέως ἐπλήμμυρεν, ἀλλ' εὐνὴ μὲν αὐτῷ, λωτὸς, καὶ θρύον, καὶ ἀπαλοῦ δόνακος κόμαι, κατάκειται δὲ μᾶλλον, ἢ ἀνέστηκε· καὶ τὸν πόδα ἐπέχει ταῖς πηγαῖς, ὑπὲρ ξυμμετρίας νῦν, διυγραίνων αὐτὸν νάματος, τὸ ῥεῦμα μέτριον, στρατιά τε ἑκατέρωθεν, Μυσῶντε ξυνὸν Τρωσὶ, καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἑκατέρῳ· οἱ μὲν κεκμηότες ἤδη, οἱ Τρῶες, οἱ δὲ ἀκμῆτες, οἱ ξὺν Εὐρυπύλῳ· ὁρᾷς δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κάθηνται, τάχα που τοῦτο Εὐρυπύλου αἰτήσαντος, καὶ χαίρουσι τῇ ἀνακωχῇ· οἱ δὲ ἔκθυμοί τε καὶ ἐξορμῶντες, οἱ Μυσοὶ, ἴενται· τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ὁμοίᾳ καταστάσει τοῖς Τρωσὶν, πλὴν Μυρμιδόνων ἐνεργοὶ γὰρ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πυῤῥου ἕτοιμοι, τὼ νεανία δὲ, κάλλους μὲν ἕνεκεν ἐφερμηνεύοιτ' ἂν οὐδὲν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ὅπλοις τανῦν· μεγάλοι γε μὴν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους· ἡλικία τε ἀμφοῖν ἴση· τάς τε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν βολὰς ἐνεργοί· καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες.

placed the Trojans with their allies, on the other the Greeks.

That the most considerable stream which flows from Ida, and which empties itself into the Hellespont, near Sigeium, is the Scamander, coincides, moreover, with the data of Scylax, Herodotus, Dionysius Periegetes, Ptolemy, Mela, Catullus, and other scholiasts of Homer:[7] notwithstanding which, in the face of all these authorities, Lechevalier has laboured to make a single passage in the Iliad serve in support of his assumption.[8] In this passage it is said that two springs of the Scamander rose near the town, the one hot, and the other icy cold, at which the Trojan women were wont to wash their clothes in time of peace. Inasmuch, therefore, as he insisted that the hill above Bounárbashi was the site of the city of Priam, so he held the streams called the *Forty Eyes* (Kirk-Ghiuz in Turkish, and *'σαράντα 'ματία* in modern Greek, or Bounárbashi, spring-head) to be the washing-place mentioned in Homer, and the brook which takes its rise from it, the Scamander.

The ancient interpreters of Homer were universally of opinion (as far as we can conclude from Strabo and the scholiasts of the Iliad, who refer to Porphyry, the celebrated grammarian,) that Homer, by the springs of the Scamander, by no means understands the real

[7] Schol. Il. II. 467. VII. 86.

[8] Il. XXII. 147.

Κρουνὼ δ' ἵκανον καλλιῤῥόω, ἔνθα δὲ πηγαὶ
Δοιαὶ ἀναΐσσουσι Σκαμάνδρου δινήεντος.
Ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ ῥέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς
Γίγνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὡσεὶ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο·
Ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θέρεϊ προρέει εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ,
Ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ.

sources of the river,—which rises on the summits of Ida, at a distance of 300 stadia, or about 37½ English miles, from the city,—but water which either emptied itself into the Scamander, or flowed out of it through a subterraneous passage, and re-appeared near the city; the name being possibly applied in the same way as the Castalia is called by Ovid Cephissian waves,[9] because, according to tradition, a part of the Cephissian stream flowed underground to Delphi, near Lebadea. How, ask the interpreters, can the poet here mean the actual sources of the Scamander, when he himself numbers it among the rivers which flow from Ida to the sea? [10]

But let us return to Ujek Tepeh. This mound is usually taken, from its commanding view, for the tomb of the Æsyetes,[11] on the top of which the Trojan sentinel, Polites, was wont to sit, in order to observe when the Achaians should leave their ships to undertake an expedition against the town; and thence bring the Trojans timely notice of it, in order that they might be ready to meet the enemy in the plain, and thus be enabled to keep the fight at a distance from the walls

[9] Ovid, Met. i. 369.

"Adeunt pariter Cephisidas undas
Ut nondum liquidas, sic jam vada nota secantes."

[10] Il. xii. 18.

ποταμῶν μένος εἰσαγάγοντες,
Ὅσσοι ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ἅλαδε προρέουσι,
Ῥῆσός θ', Ἑπτάπορός τε, Κάρησός τε, Ῥοδιός τε,
Γρήνικός τε, καὶ Αἴσηπος, διός τε Σκάμανδρος,
Καὶ Σιμόεις, ὅθι πολλὰ βοάγρια καὶ τρυφάλειαι
Κάππεσον ἐν κονίῃσι, καὶ ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν.

[11] Il. ii. 792.

Ὃς Τρώων σκοπὸς ἷζε, ποδωκείῃσι πεποιθώς,
Τύμβῳ ἔπ' ἀκροτάτῳ Αἰσυήταο γέροντος.

of the city.[12] In Strabo's time, this mound or barrow was shown in the Scamandrian valley, five stadia distant from Novum Ilium, near the road leading to Alexandrian Troy, or a quarter of an hour west or south-west of the present Hissarlik, where a mound now exists, of which I shall speak hereafter. I see no reason for deviating from Strabo's data, except we choose to designate this learned and unprejudiced writer (whom antiquity has, without hesitation, dignified with the name of 'the Geographer,' and who was a scholar of the grammarian Tyrannion, and, as such, fundamentally grounded in Homer's poems, and all that related to him,) an ignorant and superficial scribbler. Since the date of the Homeric poems, Greek colonists have uninterruptedly inhabited those regions; moreover, Pisistratus, who, with his assistants, arranged the immortal poems, was himself in possession of Sigeium. There is just as little ground for believing that the points which in Strabo's time bore Homeric names, are not those alluded to by Homer under the same denominations, as that the streams have interchanged their denominations since Homer's time. Whoever holds the Bounárbashi hill to be the site of ancient Troy will admit, that, were he on the top of it, he could see thence better into the plain than from Ujek Tepeh: in any case this latter lies too far from the field of battle to allow of the supposition of its belonging to one of those mentioned. I feel rather inclined to believe it to be the monument of some old Trojan king or hero, perhaps of Lycus or Chimæreus, whose graves were renowned in Greece,

[12] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 599.

Πέντε γὰρ διέχει σταδίους ὁ νῦν δεικνύμενος τοῦ Αἰσυήταο τάφος κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁδόν.

even before the era of the Trojan war; nay, Menelaus, during a famine, makes a pilgrimage thither, by order of the Pythian oracle.[13]

From Ujek Tepeh we continued to travel for about an hour and a half, over low hills, partially covered with Vallonea oak and oak bushes, till we arrived at Bounárbashi. The other name given to these sources, namely, the "Forty Eyes," is not to be taken in its literal sense;[14] they consist of a series of powerful springs, spirting out near to one another, at the foot of

[13] Lycophr. 132.

Ὅς τοῖς Λύκου τε καὶ Χιμαιρέως τάφοις
Χρησμοῖσι κυδαίνοντας οὐκ αἰδούμενος
Οὐδ' Ἀνθέως ἔρωτας, οὐδὲ τὸν ξένοις
Σύνδορπον Αἰγαίωνος ἀγνίττην πάγον,
Ἔτλης, θεῶν ἀλοιτὸς ἐκβῆναι δίκην.

Schol. in Lycophr.

Λοιμοῦ δὲ κατασχόντος Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ μαντευομένων αὐτῶν, ἔχρησεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεὸς, μὴ παυθῆναι τὸν λοιμὸν, εἰ μὴ εὐγενὴς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπελθὼν ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ θύσει τοῖς τάφοις αὐτῶν, οἵ τε ἀπέστειλαν Μενέλαον ἐκτελέσαι τὰ τοῦ χρησμοῦ.

Sch. Il. v. 64.

Ἰστέον τε, ὡς φέρεται λόγος, ὅτι Λακεδοιμονίοις λοιμῷ πιεζομένοις, ἔχρησεν Ἀπόλλων, δειλάσκεσθαι τοὺς τῶν Τεύκρων ἡγουν τῶν Ἰλιέων δαίμονας. Μενέλαος οὖν ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἴλιον ἐπίει τὸ προσταχθὲν, κἀκεῖθεν συμπλεύσαντος αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου, συμπαραγέγονεν εἰς Δελφοὺς, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐζήτει χρησμὸν λήψεσθαι περὶ παίδων γενέσεως. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περὶ γυναικὸς ἐμαντεύετο· χρᾶ οὖν αὐτοῖς ἡ Πυθία, τίπτε δύο βασιλῆες, ὁ μὲν Τρώων, ὃδ' Ἀχαιῶν, οὐκέθ' ὁμὰ φρονέοντες, ἐμὸν δόμον εἰσανέβητε· ἤτοι ὁ μὲν πώλοιο γόνον διζήμενος εὑρεῖν, αὐτὰρ ὁ πῶλον ἑλεῖν· τίνι μύσῃ, ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ· τοὺς δὲ μὴ νοήσαντας τὸ λόγιον χωρισθῆναι.

[14] The number "forty," among oriental nations, is often used to signify a great but indefinite number, in the same sense as the Greek *μύρια*, which corresponds to it:

Μύρια Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγεα ἔθηκε.

The Turkish piastre is divided into 40 fractional parts.

a hill of concrete, and immediately forming a long large pond, which is carefully dammed up, and its banks, in order to give them a greater consistency, planted with thick bushes and trees: upon this road borders a garden, changed by neglect into a wilderness. The degree of heat of the two springs, supposed by Lechevalier to be the two Homeric sources of the Scamander, of which one is said to be warm, and the other cold, has often been tested by travellers, but the result of their inquiries has proved that all the springs have the same temperature. In summer, they are cool and pleasant to drink, although not so cold as most springs at their source; in winter, they are said to smoke on very cold days, and very naturally, as their degree of cold is then less than that of the atmosphere.

From the great pool, the water, as I have already mentioned (pp. 111, 112), is led along the northern declivity of the hill by means of a prolongation of the dyke of the pool. Further west, where some low eminences have to be passed, the channel is hewn for a short distance through the rocky ground: still further on, the stream turns the mill already mentioned in the beginning of this Paper; which is, doubtless, the object it was intended to answer. Before the construction of this canal, the water formed a brook which emptied itself into the Scamander, at half an hour's distance below the village of Bounárbashi, doubling at least the volume of the water in the latter by its tributary stream, so that Pliny might very well call it a navigable river.[15] This designation cannot, however, be

[15] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. 30.

"Scamander, amnis navigabilis, et in promontorio quondam Sigæum oppidum. Dein portus Achivorum, in quem influit Xanthus Simoenti junctus: stagnumque prius faciens Palæscamander."

given to the mill stream, as Dr. Forchhammer has done in his treatise printed in the Journal of the Geographical Society of London.

I think we may safely call the brook, which in its original state emptied itself into the Scamander, the Thymbrius. Homer makes no mention of it, either as one of the rivers that flow in different directions from Ida, and combine their streams at the command of Neptune, to destroy the fortifications of the Achaians, after which each retires to its own bed, or where the Scamander calls his brother Simois to aid him in flooding the Trojan plain, and in driving Achilles from the battle-field.[16]

In the tenth Rhapsody, not without good reason held spurious, the word Thymbrius does not once occur. The prisoner Dolon[17] betrays to Ulysses and Diomedes that the Lycians and other Trojan allies are encamped in the neighbourhood of Thymbria, but the Carians and the rest near the sea; while the Trojans, under Hector, were standing on the Throsmos, near

[16] Il. xxi. 305.

Οὐδὲ Σκάμανδρος ἔληγε τὸ ὃν μένος, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον
Χώετο Πηλείωνι, κόρυσσε δὲ κῦμα ῥόοιο,
Ὑψόσ' ἀειρόμενος· Σιμόεντι δὲ κέκλετ' ἀΰσας·
Φίλε κασίγνητε, σθένος ἀνέρος ἀμφότεροί περ
Σχῶμεν, ἐπεὶ τάχα ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος
Ἐκπέρσει, Τρῶες δὲ κατὰ μόθον οὐ μενέουσιν.
Ἀλλ' ἐπάμυνε τάχιστα, καὶ ἐμπίπληθι ῥέεθρα
Ὕδατος ἐκ πηγέων, πάντας δ' ὀρόθυνον ἐναύλους·
Ἴστη δὲ μέγα κῦμα· πολὺν δ' ὀρυμαγδὸν ὄρινε
Φιτρῶν καὶ λάων, ἵνα παύσομεν ἄγριον ἄνδρα,
Ὃς δὴ νῦν κρατέει, μέμονε δ' ὅγε ἶσα θεοῖσι.

[17] Il. x. 428.

Πρὸς μὲν ἀλὸς Κᾶρες, καὶ Παίονες ἀγκυλότοξοι,
Καὶ Λέλεγες, καὶ Καύκωνες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί·
Πρὸς Θύμβρης δ' ἔλαχον Λύκιοι, Μυσοί τ' ἀγέρωχοι,
Καὶ Φρύγες ἱππόδαμοι, καὶ Μῄονες ἱπποκορυσταί.

the Achaian camp. Here the sea and Thymbria appear to form a contrast; and should we admit, that which indeed seems most probable, that the Carians stood in the neighbourhood of the bay between Rhœteium and Sigeium, then we must look to the south of the valley for Thymbria. Now, according to Strabo, this was a plain near the village of the Ilienses, about fifty stadia, or six English miles, distant from New Ilium, through which the Thymbrius flowed into the Scamander; at the confluence of which two rivers lay the temple dedicated to the Thymbrian Apollo,[18] near to which the geographer places the city, and where he represents Ulysses as encamped with a reserved corps,[19] and as hiding himself in the swampy ground, at a distance from the ships, but near to the city: Euripides also places it near to the city.[20] According to a fragment of Sophocles,[21] Achilles fell upon Troilus near the temple of the Thymbrian Apollo,

[18] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 598.

Πλησίον γάρ ἐστι τὸ πεδίον ἡ Θύμβρα, καὶ ὁ δι' αὐτοῦ ῥέων ποταμὸς Θύμβριος, ἐκβάλλων εἰς τὸν Σκάμανδρον, κατὰ τὸ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν· τοῦ δὲ νῦν Ἰλίου, καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους διέχει.

[19] Od. XIV. 472.

Ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἱκόμεσθα ποτὶ πτόλιν, αἰπύ τε τεῖχος,
Ἡμεῖς μὲν περὶ ἄστυ κατὰ ῥωπήϊα πυκνὰ,
Ἀνδόνακας καὶ ἕλος ὑπὸ τεύχεσι πεπτηῶτες
Κείμεθα.
496. Λίην γὰρ νηῶν ἑκὰς ἤλθομεν.

[20] Eurip. Rhes. 507.

Κτανὼν δὲ φρουροὺς καὶ παραστάτας πυλῶν,
Ἐξῆλθεν· ἀεὶ δ' ἐν λόγοις εὑρίσκεται
Θυμβραῖον ἀμφὶ βωμὸν ἄστεως πέλας
Θάσσων· κακῷ δὲ μερμέρῳ παλαίομεν.

[21] Schol. Il. XXIV. 257.

Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐφεξῆς τὸν Ἕκτορα ἐν τεθνεῶσιν υἱοῖς, τρίτου ἔθηκε μετὰ μήστορα ἀντίθεον καὶ Τρωΐλον ἱπποχάρμην, ὅν φασιν ἵππους ἐν τῷ Θυμβραίῳ γυμνάζοντα, λόγχῃ πεσεῖν ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως.

and slew him while he was exercising his horses there; and these data adapt themselves perfectly to the marsh of Bounárbashi. This spot is said to have derived its name from a certain herb that grows there, and that powerfully attracts bees: whether such a herb grow there, or not, I leave to the researches of botanists; it is, however, a fact that the rearing and swarming of bees is encouraged to a considerable extent at Bounárbashi; nor could a more favourable spot, perhaps, be found, or one more in accordance with Virgil's directions.[22] A few steps eastward of the springs lies the Turkish village of the same name, inhabited rather by storks than men; and on some of the larger houses as many as ten nests might be counted. Indeed, one at least of these birds, which are held in as great veneration by the Turks as by the Dutch, had established itself on each of the huts, which are so low that a person might almost touch their nests with his hand. The croaking of the frogs, the myriads of gnats, with the addition of a damp mist which exhales from the marshy ground, render it almost impossible for a traveller to pass the night here, or any where else in the lower parts of the valley: he will therefore do well to arrange his route so as to be able to lodge in one of the villages which occupy higher sites.

The extensive burial-ground near Bounárbashi Keui proves this village to have been formerly very rich and large: many granite and marble columns, and other architectural fragments, which, judging from their

[22] Georg. III. 143.

"Saltibus in vacuis pascant, et plena secundum
Flumina; muscus ubi et viridissima gramine ripa."

style and size, have probably been brought hither from Novum Ilium, are used as sepulchral monuments.

We rode hence to the eminence of Baalik, which rises about 400 feet above the level of the sea, and to nearly the same height above the bed of the Scamander. At the north-west foot of this eminence lies the village of Baalik, which derives its reputation from its having been named the Pergamos of Priam by Lechevalier: should it henceforth chance to lose this interest, the beautiful view it commands will, nevertheless, amply reward the traveller for the toil of ascending it. On arriving at the summit, we found three tumuli among the bushes and stunted oaks; the largest and most southerly is about 30 feet high and 130 in diameter. South-west of, but near to this, stands a smaller one, consisting of loose stones and earth. Passing on from these two tumuli in an easterly direction, we came upon the remains of a wall, cutting the hill which projects towards the Menderèh at right angles, and built, to judge from what is left of it, principally of ruins. Foundations of houses, and heaps of ruins, are to be found as well on the outside as within this wall, proving clearly that a village formerly stood here. I was, however, unable to discover the traces of any considerable building. Within the wall are two straight trenches in the rocks, which appear to be the consequence of a natural depression in the ground, but which probably served as cisterns to contain rain-water. On the side towards the river the hill is very steep at many points, rising perpendicularly from the bed of the river, which here winds through the gorge. It is on this side that the French architect, Mauduit, discovered some remains

of old Hellenic fortification walls, which he believes to be the ruins of the Priameian Pergamos. On searching, I soon found them; but, to my astonishment, found their dimensions so insignificant, that I can easily conceive why M. Mauduit thought it better not to attach a scale of feet to the embellished sketch of them appended to his work. At that spot, where three courses certainly still remain upon one another, some rough-hewn, and some of a polygonal form, none measure more than two feet by one. Somewhat further down are the remains of a second and similar wall, measuring about fifteen feet in length, but forming the segment of a large circle. The largest stone in the lower course of this wall measures two and a half feet in length, and is rough-hewn on five of its sides, but wedge-shaped on the sixth. Such stones were used at various epochs of Grecian architecture, for fortifications of an inferior class: two parallel walls were built thus, the space between being filled up with rubbish, or puddled. I have accurately sketched, examined, and measured all that M. Mauduit mentions, and cannot perceive the most remote resemblance between them and the Cyclopean walls of the citadels of Argolis, or other remains indubitably of the olden time; and yet, with this specimen before his eyes, M. Mauduit has succeeded in figuring to his imagination the impregnable Troy, the gigantic work of the Gods. The immense walls of Tyrinth, and its isolated position on a low hill in the plain, will probably give the best idea of Troy as it was, with this only difference, that Troy, doubtless, enclosed a larger area. The Lion's gate of Mycene may, with great reason, be supposed to resemble the Scæan gate. Demetrius of Scepsis took this view of Troy, and combated with

these arguments the opinion of Timæus, who held the Achillæum[21] to have been fortified with the building materials of Troy. The Cyclops who built Tyrinth are said to have come out of Lycia:[22] at any rate one must imagine the town which Homer dignified with the words 'God-built,' 'well-walled,' 'strongly-towered,' 'high-gated,' 'lofty,' 'high,' &c.,[23] as walled in the Cyclopean style. Had there been, however, the slightest hope of discovering a single ancient stone, it would have been done subsequently to the time of Pisistratus, inasmuch as the spot has continued to be inhabited ever since, and has been frequently and accurately examined by the most noted archæologists. The prophetic words which Homer has put into the mouth of Neptune, namely, "that the work which he himself and Apollo had performed for the hero Laomedon should be forgotten,"[24] are probably to be attributed to the absence of any trace of walls in the

[21] Strabo, XIII. i. (600.)

Τίμαιον δὲ ψεύσασθαι, φησὶν ὁ Δημήτριος, ἱστοροῦντα ἐκ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἐξ Ἰλίου, Περίανδρον περιτειχίσαι τὸ Ἀχίλλειον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, βοηθοῦντα τοῖς περὶ Πιττακόν· ἐπιτειχισθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Μιτυληναίων τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῷ Σιγείῳ, οὐ μὲν ἐκ λίθων τοιούτων, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Περιάνδρου. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν αἱρεθῆναι διαιτητὴν τὸν προσπολεμοῦντα; Ἀχίλλειον δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ τὸ Ἀχιλλέως μνῆμα κατοικία μικρά. Κατέσκαπται δὲ καὶ τὸ Σίγειον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰλιέων διὰ τὴν ἀπείθειαν· ὑπ' ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἦν ὕστερον ἡ παραλία πᾶσα ἡ μέχρι Δαρδάνου, καὶ νῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἐστί.

[22] Strabo, VIII. vi. p. 373.

Τούτων δὲ, περὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἄργους εἴρηται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων λεκτέον. Τῇ μὲν οὖν Τίρυνθι ὁρμητηρίῳ χρήσασθαι δοκεῖ Προῖτος, καὶ τειχίσαι διὰ Κυκλώπων· οὓς ἑπτὰ μὲν εἶναι, καλεῖσθαι δὲ γαστερόχειρας, τρεφομένους ἐκ τῆς τέχνης· ἥκειν μεταπέμπτους ἐκ Λυκίας.

[23] *Θεόδμητος, εὐτείχος, εὔπυργος, ὑψίπυλος, αἰπεινὴ, ὀφρυόεσσα, κ. τ. λ.*

[24] Il. VII. 452.

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιλήσονται, ὅ τ' ἐγὼ καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
Ἥρῳ Λαομέδοντι πολίσσαμεν ἀθλήσαντε.

poet's day. Æschylus also represents Agamemnon as having destroyed Troy so effectually, that posterity should remain ignorant of the position of its altars and temples.[25] The orator Lycurgus is also cited by Strabo. He asks the Athenian judges, in his speech against Leocrates,[26] "Who has not heard that Troy, in the days of its power, the greatest and mightiest of the Asiatic cities, since it was destroyed by the Greeks, and its inhabitants rooted out, has ever remained uninhabited?" showing clearly that, even in the time of Alexander the Great, no one in Athens believed that

[25] Æsch. Ag. 523.

ΚΗΡΥΞ. *ἥκει γὰρ ὑμῖν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φέρων,*
καὶ τοῖσδ' ἅπασι κοινὸν, Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ,
ἀλλ' εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει,
Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου
Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον.
βωμοὶ δ' ἄϊστοι καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματα,
καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονὸς,
τοιόνδε Τροίᾳ περιβαλλὼν ζευκτήριον
ἄναξ Ἀτρείδης πρέσβυς, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ,
ἥκει, τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιώτατος βροτῶν
τῶν νῦν· Πάρις γὰρ, οὔτε συντελὴς πόλις,
ἐξεύχεται τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον·
ὀφλὼν γὰρ ἁρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς δίκην
τοῦ ῥυσίου δ' ἥμαρτε, καὶ πανώλεθρον
αὐτόχθονον πατρῷον ἔθρισεν δόμον·
διπλᾶ δ' ἔτισαν Πριαμίδαι θἀμάρτια.

[26] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 602.

Ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι τὸν ἀφανισμὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὁ ῥήτωρ· μνησθεὶς γὰρ τῆς Ἰλιέων πόλεως φησί· τίς οὐκ ἀκήκοεν, ὡς ἅπαξ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεσκάφη, ἀοίκητον οὖσαν; Εἰκάζουσι δὲ τοὺς ὕστερον ἀνακτίσαι διανοουμένους οἰωνίσασθαι τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον, εἴτε διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς, εἴτε καὶ καταρασαμένου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος· (καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐξελὼν τὴν Σιδηνὴν εἰς τὴν ὁ τύραννος κατέφυγε Γλαυκίας, ἀρὰς ἔθετο κατὰ τῶν τειχιούντων πάλιν τὸν τόπον·) ἐκείνου μὲν οὖν ἀποστῆναι τοῦ χωρίου, ἕτερον δὲ τειχίσαι.

the Æolian inhabitants of Ilium were the descendants of the Trojans, or that their city stood on the site of the Homeric Ilium. The Attic writers, Xenophon, Demosthenes, and others, used to distinguish between two cities; one called the *Homeric Troy* (*Τροία*); the other, the *Æolian Ilium* (*τὸ Ἴλιον*);—representing, moreover, the former as inhabited by Trojans (*Τρῶες*); the other by Ilienses (*Ἰλιεῖς*): in the same way, Herodotus, the Priameian Pergamon (*τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον*) from the Ilion,[27] built on alluvial soil, near the strand. In addition to these authorities, and those cited by Strabo, others, such as the historian Timæus, Demetrius of Scepsis, Hestinea of Alexandrian Troy, Lucan the epigrammatist, and Eustathius, are to be reckoned among those who suppose the total disappearance of the walls of Troy.

It was the opinion of Strabo, that Troy was not rebuilt, because later colonists dared not settle on the spot, on account, either of the dire fate which had befallen it, or the curse pronounced over it by Agamemnon, in accordance with the ancient custom.[28] The disappearance of every vestige of the building materials may be accounted for, by the fact of the inhabitants of the surrounding towns having used them in the construction of their new dwellings.

[27] Herod. VII. 43.

Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν (Σκάμανδρον) ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη, ἵμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι.—II. 10. *Τῶν γὰρ οὐρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαινετό μοι εἶναί κοτε κόλπος θαλάσσης, ὥσπερ γὲ τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην, καὶ Ἔφεσόν τε καὶ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον.*

[28] Strabo, XIII. i. 601.

Εἰκάζουσί τε τοὺς ὕστερον ἀνακτίσαι διανοουμένους οἰωνίσασθαι τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον, εἴτε διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς, εἴτε καὶ καταρασαμένου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος.

Sigeium is said to have been walled in, in this manner.[29] In fact, no durable stone is to be found in any of the hills which surround the valley of the Scamander, and Simois, north-west of Atchik Keui: within even a very short time back, the peasants of Yenì Shehèr excavated building material from the ruins of New Ilium, for the construction of a church.

If it be asked to what Hellenic town the ruins on Bounárbashi hill belong; I answer, to the hamlet Scamandria, placed by Pliny in the neighbourhood of New Ilium,—otherwise known from a description, and a short notice, in the Byzantine authors; according to which it would appear that we must look for it on the bank of the Scamander, following the stream upwards. In the days of remote antiquity, this hamlet was probably called Thymbria, from the name of the plain at its foot. This town is, however, mentioned only by Stephanus.

The view from the Pergamon of Lechevalier extends over the whole of the Scamandrian plain down to the sea, and even as far as the continent on the opposite side of the Hellespont; a fact in no way required by the Homeric story, which, while it states the possibility of seeing a part of the battle-field, by no means

[29] Strabo, XIII. i. 599.

Οὐδὲν δὲ ἴχνος σώζεται τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως, εἰκότως· ἅτε γὰρ ἐκπεπορθημένων τῶν κύκλῳ πόλεων οὐ τελέως δὲ κατεσπασμένων, ταύτης δὲ ἐκ βάθρων ἀνατετραμμένης, οἱ λίθοι πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνάληψιν μετηνέχθησαν.

Ἀρχαιάνακτα γοῦν φασὶ τὸν Μιτυληναῖον ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν λίθων τὸ Σίγειον ἐκτειχίσαι.

Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 33.

"Est tamen et nunc Scamandria civitas parva, M. D. passibus remotum a portu Ilium immune, unde nunc rerum claritas.

applies these expressions to the camp and ships of the Achaians:[30] moreover, Lechevalier's Troy lies on the left bank, on which side the camp of the Achaians was also situated, near Sigeium. The Scamander must, therefore, have been passed by Priam, in his journey to the tent of Achilles, either twice, or not at all;[31] facts contradicted by the whole Iliad. Nor, is it more probable, bearing always in mind Homer's exact description of localities, that the poet should have passed over in silence two leading and characteristic features in the eminence of Bounárbashi; namely, the abrupt rocks, and their overhanging the Scamander (*πετρήεσσα*), like other towers similarly situated; for when in the

[30] Il. III. 121.

Ἶρις δ' αὖθ' Ἑλένῃ λευκωλένῳ ἄγγελος ἦλθεν.
130. Δεῦρ' ἴθι, νύμφα φίλη, ἵνα θέσκελα ἔργα ἴδηαι
Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
Οἳ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι φέρον πολύδακρυν Ἄρηα
Ἐν πεδίῳ.
145. Αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκανον, ὅθι Σκαιαὶ πύλαι ἦσαν.
153. Τοῖοι ἄρα Τρώων ἡγήτορες ἦντ' ἐπὶ πύργῳ.
Οἳ δ' ὡς οὖν εἶδον Ἑλένην ἐπὶ πύργον ἰοῦσαν,
Ἧκα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον.

[31] Il. XXIV. 689.

Ὣς ἔφατ'· ἔδδεισεν δ' ὁ γέρων, κήρυκα δ' ἀνίστη.
Τοῖσιν δ' Ἑρμείας ζεῦξ' ἵππους ἠμίονούς τε·
Ῥίμφα δ' ἄρ' αὐτὸς ἔλαυνε κατὰ στρατὸν, οὐδέ τις ἔγνω.
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πόρον ἷξον ἐϋῤῥεῖος ποταμοῖο
Ξάνθου δινήεντος, ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεύς,
Ἑρμείας μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀπέβη πρὸς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
Ἠὼς δὲ κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν.
Οἳ δ' εἰς ἄστυ ἔλων οἰμωγῇ τε στοναχῇ τε
Ἵππους, ἡμίονοι δὲ νέκυν φέρον· οὐδέ τις ἄλλος
Ἔγνω πρόσθ' ἀνδρῶν καλλιζώνων τε γυναικῶν·
Ἀλλ' ἄρα Κασσάνδρη, ἰκέλη χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ,
Πέργαμον εἰσαναβᾶσα, φίλον πατέρ' εἰσενόησεν
Ἑσταότ' ἐν δίφρῳ, κήρυκά τε ἀστυβοώτην.

Odyssey[32] it is proposed to the Trojans to throw the wooden horse down from the rocks, it would appear that this passage has no reference to the rocks above which the citadel stood, but rather to some other eminence, to which they would drag the horse, and, like a criminal, hurl it down. At least, this passage of Homer appears to have been thus interpreted.[33]

With reference to the Scamander, it may clearly be proved that this river flowed at a considerable distance from the city;[34] since Apollo, under the form of Agenor, entices Achilles from the oak at the Scæan gate, through the corn-fields, down to the Scamander, whereby the flying Trojans gain time to retire within the city walls.

To conclude, it is utterly impossible to run round the hill of Bounárbashi, on account of its great circumference, the nature of the rocky ravine through which the Scamander flows, and the height of many parts of the spurs of the hill over which the course must necessarily pass; and inasmuch as Lechevalier

[32] Od. VIII. 508.

Ἤ κατὰ πετράων βαλλέειν ἐρύσαντας ἐπ' ἄκρας,
Ἤ ἐάαν μέγ' ἄγαλμα θεῶν θελκτήριον εἶναι,
Τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν.

[33] Æneid. II. 35.

"At Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti,
Aut pelago Danaûm insidias suspectaque dona,
Præcipitare jubent, subjectisque urere flammis;
Aut terebrare cavas uteri et tentare latebras."

[34] Il. XXI. 600.

Αὐτῷ γὰρ Ἑκάεργος Ἀγήνορι πάντα ἐοικὼς,
Ἕστη πρόσθε ποδῶν, ὁ δ' ἐπέσσυτο ποσσὶ διώκειν.
Ἕως ὁ τὸν πεδίοιο διώκετο πυροφόροιο,
Τρέψας πὰρ ποταμὸν βαθυδινήεντα Σκάμανδρον.

was compelled to admit this impossibility, he takes refuge in a forced interpretation of the simple words of Homer, and one quite at variance with the views of antiquity. The poet states[35] that the heroes Achilles and Hector ran three times *round the city of Priam;* whereas Lechevalier represents them as running round in a circle, near the walls; upon which his German editor, the renowned Heyne, remarks (p. 208),—"That if we assume that the passage of Homer, alluding to the combatants running round the city, should be interpreted in any other way, or that it be impossible to run round the city,—that it is from hence we must derive the strongest proof respecting the true locality. I however," he continues, "am of opinion that a locality, adapting itself to Homer's description, should be sought for; but that we are in no way justified in interpreting the poet despotically in favour of a locality which must always be considered as doubtful."

Lechevalier, as I have said above, having taken for granted that the heroes ran round in a circle before the Scæan gate, brings forth, in support of this hypo-

[35] Il. xxii. 165.

Ὡς τὼ τρὶς Πριάμοιο πόλιν πέρι δινηθήτην
Καρπαλίμοισι πόδεσσι· θεοὶ δέ τε πάντες ὁρῶντο.

Schol. in 165. Περιδινηθήτην· ἐκύκλωσαν, περιῆλθον.

Il. xxii. 229.

Ἠθεῖ', ἦ μάλα δή σε βιάζεται ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς,
Ἄστυ πέρι Πριάμοιο ποσὶ ταχέεσσι διώκων.

Il. xxii. 251.

Τρὶς περὶ ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου δῖον, οὐδέ ποτ' ἔτλην
Μεῖναι ἐπερχόμενον.

Eurip. Androm. 107.

τὸν περὶ τείχη
εἵλκυσε διφρεύων παῖς ἁλίας Θέτιδος.

thesis, one of Virgil's imitations of Homer, who makes Æneas and Turnus describe circles[36] before the walls of Laurentium. Now I will not deny that Virgil meant to imitate Homer pointedly, and went so far as even to borrow little traits from him, well knowing that a successful, though imitatory, competition with the greatest of the Greek epic poets would please his Roman readers better than treating his subject in an original way: it is also possible that he may have wished to imitate him still more closely in this catastrophe, but was obliged to deviate on account of the local knowledge possessed by the Romans of the neighbouring Laurentium,[37] which was built on a hill, the foot of which abutted on an extensive marsh.[38] Nothing therefore remained for him but to suppose a circular race *before* the walls of Laurentium, and, in order to give this statement the necessary probability, to represent Æneas[39] as following, wounded; and, at the same time, to prevent Turnus from flying, to confine the lists by the neighbouring marsh, the high walls of Laurentium, and the close ranks of the Teucran army. Homer, on the contrary,

[36] Æn. xii. 742.

"Ergo amens diversa fugâ petit æquora Turnus;
Et nunc huc, inde huc incertos implicat orbes;
Undique enim densâ Teucri inclusêre coronâ;
Atque hinc vasta palus, hinc ardua mœnia cingunt."

[37] Topographia di Campagna di Roma, p. 74.

[38] Æn. x. 707.

"Ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis
Actus aper (multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos
Defendit, multosque palus Laurentia), sylvâ
Pastus arundineâ."

[39] Æn. xii. 761.

——— "terretque trementes (Æneas),
Excisurum urbem minitans, et saucius instat."

makes Achilles spring forward as often as Hector attempts to take refuge[40] within the gate of Troy. That Virgil, however, did not understand Homer's περὶ, or any of the passages here referred to, in such a sense, is sufficiently proved by the line,

"Ter *circum* Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros."

Indeed, it will be more difficult, if possible, to torture the Latin preposition into such a sense, than the Greek. There is still one striking argument more against Lechevalier's hypothesis: the four tumuli lie inside the line which would enclose the city as laid down by that writer and his adherents, diametrically in opposition to known practices of antiquity. It is true, single exceptions may be found to this rule: this would, however, by no means prove that such variations from established usage were frequent in Homer's age; for the poet represents the fallen Achaians as being buried *outside* the camp, and Hector *outside* the walls,[41] and the mounds as thrown up on the spot where they were buried.[42] To which, however, of the numerous

[40] Il. xxii. 194.

Ὁσσάκι δ' ὁρμήσειε πυλάων Δαρδανιάων
Ἀντίον αἴξασθαι, ἐϋδμήτους ὑπὸ πύργους,
Εἴπως οἱ καθύπερθεν ἀλάλκοιεν βελέεσσι·
Τοσσάκι μιν προπάροιθεν ἀποστρέψασκε παραφθὰς
Πρὸς πεδίον· αὐτὸς δὲ ποτὶ πτόλιος πέτετ' αἰεί.

[41] Il. xxiv. 783.

αἶψα δ' ἔπειτα πρὸ ἄστεος ἠγερέθοντο.
Ἐννῆμαρ μὲν τοί γε ἀγίνεον ἄσπετον ὕλην·
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη ἐφάνη φαεσίμβροτος Ἠώς,
Καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἐξέφερον θρασὺν Ἕκτορα δακρυχέοντες,
Ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτῃ νεκρὸν θέσαν, ἐν δ' ἔβαλον πῦρ.

[42] Il. xxiv. 797.

Αἶψα δ' ἄρ' ἐς κοίλην κάπετον θέσαν· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε
Πυκνοῖσι λάεσσι κατεστόρεσαν μεγάλοισι.

Greek and Trojan heroes whose graves are pointed out in the neighbourhood of Troy, on the evidence more particularly of the later epigrammatists, these four on Baalik belong, must, owing to the scantiness of the accounts which we possess, still remain a matter of doubt and uncertainty.

Turning his back on Bounárbashi, the traveller will arrive at Atchik Keui, or the open village,[43] situated about an hour's walk from Lechevalier's site, and half that distance from the Scamander, which flows between them. It lies on a flat insulated hill, the north-westerly declivity of which abuts on a low slanting ridge of the great chain of hills which descends from Kara Ghiun or Kallicolone, already designated as the second or middle one, on the north-west end of which I placed the ruins of New Ilium. The maps of Choiseul Gouffier and Mauduit mark the

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Ῥίμφα δὲ σῆμ' ἔχεαν, περὶ δὲ σκοποὶ εἵατο πάντη,
Μὴ πρὶν ἐφορμηθεῖεν ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί.
Χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον.

[43] Atchik or Achik Keui إيچق كوي—the very name implying that it lay in an insulated or exposed position, or on an eminence not commanded by any heights. Other travellers give the name of this village Ackge Keui, or Money Village اقچه كوي—it may be either; perhaps the latter is the more correct denomination. I have, however, not thought it worth while to alter it throughout the MS., as the Turkish name is immaterial.—*Editor.*

Il. VII. 432.

Ἐν δὲ πυρὶ πρήσαντες ἔβαν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας.
333. ———— ἀτὰρ κατακείομεν αὐτοὺς (δηλ. τοὺς νεκροὺς)
Τυτθὸν ἄπο πρὸ νεῶν,—
336. Τύμβον δ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν ἕνα χεύομεν ἐξαγαγόντες
Ἄκριτον ἐκ πεδίου.

insulated position of Atchik Keui very distinctly; less so, the English one appended to Forchhammer's Topographical Review of Troy. According to Strabo, Demetrius described the neighbourhood as follows:[44]—

"Two rows of hills extend towards the sea from the "mountainous regions of Ida: the one, in the direction "of Rhœteium; the other, in that of Sigeium,— "forming thus a semicircle, between the extremities "of which lies New Ilium: the old city lies, however, "at the point whence they diverge. These two ridges "enclose the Simoian plain, through which the Simois "flows—as the Scamander through the Scamandrian; "and this is properly the Trojan plain, on which the "poet represents most of the battles taking place, as "being more spacious. In this plain the various "sites are pointed out by name—the Erineos—the "grave of the Æsyetes—the Batieia—and the grave "of Ilus. With respect to the rivers, the Scamander

[44] Strabo, lib. XIII. i. p. 597.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς τόπους Ἰδαίας ὀρεινῆς δύο φησὶν ἀγκῶνας ἐκτείνεσθαι πρὸς θάλατταν, τὸν μὲν εὐθὺ Ῥοιτείου, τὸν δὲ Σιγείου, ποιοῦντας ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γραμμὴν ἡμικυκλιώδη· τελευτᾷν δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, τοσοῦτον ἀπέχοντας τῆς θαλάττης, ὅσον τὸ νῦν Ἴλιον. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ μεταξὺ τῆς τελευτῆς τῶν λεχθέντων ἀγκώνων εἶναι· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν κτίσμα μεταξὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς· μεταλαμβάνεσθαι δι' ἐντὸς τό, τε Σιμοείσιον πεδίον, δι' οὗ ὁ Σιμόεις φέρεται, καὶ τὸ Σκαμάνδριον, δι' οὗ Σκάμανδρος ῥεῖ. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἰδίως Τρωϊκὸν λέγεται, καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἀγῶνας ὁ ποιητὴς ἐνταῦθα ἀποδίδωσι· πλατύτερον γὰρ ἔστι, καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους τόπους ἐνταῦθα δεικνυμένους ὁρῶμεν, τὸν Ἐρινεὸν, τὸν τοῦ Αἰσυήτου τάφον, τὴν Βατίειαν, τὸ τοῦ Ἴλου σῆμα. Οἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ ὅ, τε Σκάμανδρος καὶ ὁ Σιμόεις, ὁ μὲν τῷ Σιγείῳ πλησιάσας, ὁ δὲ τῷ Ῥοιτείῳ, μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νῦν Ἰλίου συμβάλλουσιν, εἶτ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σίγειον ἐκδιδόασι, καὶ ποιοῦσι τὴν Στομαλίμνην καλουμένην· διείργει δ' ἑκάτερον τῶν λεχθέντων πεδίων ἀπὸ θατέρου μέγας τις αὐχὴν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀγκώνων, ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν Ἰλίου, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων, συμφυὴς αὐτῷ, γινόμενος ἕως τῆς Κεβρηνίας, καὶ ἀποτελῶν τὸ Ε γράμμα πρὸς τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν ἀγκῶνας. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου μικρὸν ἡ τῶν Ἰλείων κώμη ἐστὶν, ἐν ᾗ νομίζεται τὸ παλαιὸν Ἴλιον ἱδρύσθαι πρότερον, τριάκοντα σταδίοις διέχον ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως.

"flows towards Sigeium, the Simois towards Rhœ-
"teium, joining their streams at a short distance from
"New Ilium; after which they are both lost in a
"marsh called the *Stomalimne* (Marsh of the Mouth),
"probably from the fact of these rivers emptying
"themselves into it. The above-mentioned plains are
"separated by an extensive but connected ridge, be-
"ginning at New Ilium, continuing to Cebrenia, and
"forming, together with the ridges of hills on either
"side, the letter Є[45]. A little above this is situated
"the hamlet called the Village of the Ilienses, at a
"distance of thirty stadia from the present city; and
"*here it was that the ancient Ilium stood.*"

This description of Demetrius is clear and simple; indeed, far clearer than it would be possible to render it by a map. Homer, in a well-known passage, places Troy in the plain; and Plato says, with reference to that passage, that Ilium was transported from the higher regions down into an extensive and beautiful plain, and placed on a low hill,[46] as if, in truth, to forewarn us against Bounárbashi.

[45] The form Є was in Strabo's time commonly used for the letter E. Coraes represents this sign, in his edition of Strabo, from manuscript, since the usual reading, Υ, does not adapt itself to the rest of the description.

[46] Plato, de Legibus, 682.

Αθ. Ὁ μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐπεσημήνατο, λέγων τὸ τρίτον οὕτω γεγονέναι· κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην γὰρ πού φησιν,

ἐπεὶ οὔπω Ἴλιος ἰρὴ
Ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
Ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ᾤκεον πολυπίδακος Ἴδης.—(Il. xx. 216.)

Αθ. Κατῳκίσθη δή, φαμὲν, ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλῶν εἰς μέγα τὲ καὶ καλὸν πεδίον Ἴλιον, ἐπὶ λόφον τινὰ οὐχ ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἔχοντα ποταμοὺς πολλοὺς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἴδης ὡρμημένους.

Κλ. Φασὶ γοῦν.

Atchik Keui, but a few years ago a populous Turkish village, lies on a low hill, as described above, abutting on the Scamander, and, as Strabo requires, in order to agree with Homer's account, may be run round.[47] At present it is almost entirely razed to its foundations, and the ground cultivated. Notwithstanding this, here and there among the rubbish of the Turkish village some remains of the more ancient substructions of the village of the Ilienses may be discovered; some squared stones also are scattered about, and a granite pillar or two: these latter, and the capital of a column, have probably been brought from Hissarlik. About half-way up the ascent, on the western side of the hill, stands a large farm-house (chiflik), where a decent night's lodging may be obtained. The principal building is constructed after the same design as the Lycian buildings, as represented by Fellows in his drawings: the roof is formed by trunks of trees laid across, upon which a layer of earth is trodden down; its foundation is rocky, and projects, in some places, into the plain in masses, six or eight feet high, bearing a few stunted fig-trees: from this spot a view is obtained of the greater half of the Scamandrian plain, which narrows towards New Ilium, owing to the hill-ridges advancing there, and widens again on the other side of it, where it joins the Simoian plain. The hills near New Ilium hide Sigeium and the Hellespont from view; and it is clear from this circumstance, if we go on the supposition that Atchik Keui is the ancient Ilium, why the Trojans placed a sentinel on the tumulus of the Æsyetes, since it is at this point of the road, from Atchik Keui to

[47] Il. xxii. 145.

Οἱ δὲ παρὰ σκοπιὴν καὶ ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα
Τείχεος αἶψ' ὑπ' ἐκ κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν ἐσσεύοντο.

Sigeium, that the traveller first catches a glimpse of the coast and the sea; and this explains why Homer never mentions that the Achaian camp, or the watch-fires, were visible from the city. When Helen points out the Achaian leaders to Priam,[48] from the tower of the Scæan gate, the battle has already advanced far into the plain, towards the city: when, also, Apollo excites the Trojans from Pergamos,[49] the fight is going on at no great distance from the gate. In the same way Priam perceives Achilles rushing onwards like a whirlwind through the plain,[50] and Cassandra, her father returning with the body of Hector; but, in both cases, as they are approaching the gate, Tenedos is hidden from Atchik Keui by the heights of Ujek Tepeh towards the west, and the sea by Imbros; the ancient Kalydnæ, islands lying between

[48] Il. III. 149.

Εἵατο δημογέροντες ἐπὶ Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσι.
153. Τοῖοι ἄρα Τρώων ἡγήτορες ἦντ' ἐπὶ πύργῳ.
Οἱ δ' ὡς οὖν εἶδον Ἑλένην ἐπὶ πύργον ἰοῦσαν.
161. ——— Πρίαμος δ' Ἑλένην ἐκαλέσσατο φωνῇ·
Δεῦρο πάροιθ' ἐλθοῦσα, φίλον τέκος, ἵζευ ἐμεῖο,
Ὄφρα ἴδῃ πρότερόν τε πόσιν, πηούς τε, φίλους τε.

[49] Il. IV. 507.

νεμέσησε δ' Ἀπόλλων,
Περγάμου ἐκκατιδών, Τρώεσσι δὲ κέκλετ' ἀΰσας.

Il. XXII. 24.

Ὡς Ἀχιλεὺς λαιψηρὰ πόδας καὶ γούνατ' ἐνώμα.
Τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων Πρίαμος πρῶτος ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι,
Παμφαίνονθ', ὥστ' ἀστέρ', ἐπεσσύμενον πεδίοιο,
Ὅς ῥά τ' ὀπώρης εἶσιν.

[50] Il. XXIV. 699.

Ἀλλ' ἄρα Κασσάνδρη, ἰκέλη χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ,
Πέργαμον εἰσαναβᾶσα, φίλον πατέρ' εἰσενόησεν
Ἑσταότ' ἐν δίφρῳ, κήρυκά τε ἀστυβοώτην.

Imbros and the main land, are visible, but nothing of Ida except the foremost ranges: the summit of Kallicolone in the north-east, however, appears in wonderful beauty. The plain under Atchik Keui is partly sown with wheat; the rest remains uncultivated, on account of the marsh which forms there in the winter.

The marsh called *Judáen* lies to the north of Atchik Keui: its bottom, like nearly every other marshy spot in the plain, is dry and hard in summer; so that, in fact, the whole valley of Scamander suits exactly for a jousting-place for chariot-combats, so many of which are described, in so varying and lively a manner, in the Homeric poems.

A canal, running along the foot of the hill, called the Kalafatlee Asmak, carries off the water of the Judáen in winter, and that of some other brooks between Kalafatlee and Hissarlik, into the Dümrek: the Asmak contains stagnant water in summer;[51] and a bridge, of the Byzantine age, with deep waggon-ruts, leads over it, northwards from Atchik Keui. In the plain before Atchik Keui stand, here and there, magnificent oaks, which thicken, towards the south, into a shady wood; in which lies, distant about a quarter of an hour's walk from Atchik Keui, the tumulus of Chamäi Tepeh, the largest after Ujek Tepeh, rising 60 feet above the plain, and having a diameter of 250 feet. On its flattened top stands the rough hut of a rural watchman (*garde champêtre*), who, from this elevated spot, is enabled to see over the surrounding fields and neighbouring vineyards. This must be the Batieia, the tumulus of the Amazon Myrina, where the Trojans and their allies drew out their combined army before the first

[51] صبق | means "stagnum" in Turkish.

battle of the Iliad,[52] and which Homer represents as a high isolated hill, on the declivity in the field before the city: it must, therefore, be sought not far from the latter, in the background of the Scamandrian plain, inasmuch as the Achaians drew out their line at the other extremity of the plain, in the flowery meadow of the Scamander,[53] by which the Stomalimne is undoubtedly meant. After the lines were thus drawn out, both armies rushed through the plain to the encounter.[54] Lycophron also describes the great battle-field,[55] by mentioning its two extremities, Myrina and the strand. The Batieia was shown in the Scamandrian plain even in Strabo's day; and its position formed one of the arguments against the assertion of the Ilienses, that their hamlet occupied the site of the old city: and, even at that time, a stony

[52] Il. II. 813.

Ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλεος αἰπεῖα κολώνη,
Ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπάνευθε, περίδρομος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·
Τὴν ἦτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,
Ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης·
Ἔνθα τότε Τρῶές τε διέκριθεν ἠδ' ἐπίκουροι.

[53] Il. II. 467.

Ἔσταν δ' ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμόεντι
Μυρίοι, ὅσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὥρῃ.

Il. III. 1.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἅμ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι,
Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ', ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν, ὄρνιθες ὣς.

[54] Il. III. 8.

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοὶ,
Ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

[55] Lycophr. 243.

Σὺν τοῖς δ' ὁ τλήμων μητρὸς οὐ φράσας θεᾶς
Μνήμων ἐφετμὰς, ἀλλὰ ληθάργῳ σφαλλεὶς,
Πρηνὴς θανεῖται, στέρνον οὐτασθεὶς ξίφει·
Καὶ δὴ στένει Μύρινα καὶ παράκτιοι.

spot below the village of the Ilienses, covered with wild fig-trees, was called the Erineos; the position of which would be that of the rocks below the chiflik.

The old city would have occupied, according to this supposition, the nearly flat summit of the oval hill which extends from the chiflik about 1000 paces or four stadia (about half an English mile) towards the north-east, passing over the ruined Turkish village,[56] and falling off gradually on all sides, so that commodious roads cross the hill in various directions. It is of course more difficult to ascertain how far the walls of the city extended down the declivity of the hill: nevertheless, in whatever way the line be drawn, the carriage-road leading round the walls on which the heroes ran thrice round the city, as described by Homer,[57] would be perfectly practicable even for armed warriors. The citadel or pergamon, which was, doubtless, especially fortified, may have occupied the middle of the hill; for, according to Homer, the road thence to the Scæan gate passed at least through some streets of the city;[58] or the chiflik-house may be near the position of the Scæan gate, since not far from this gate the Erineos abutted on the city walls, which were here most easy to scale.

[56] The Turkish village of Atchik Keui, which, owing to its ruined state, may be called the old Atchik Keui (Eski Atchik Keui), is connected continuously with the chiflik of the same name: the laying down, therefore, the two villages Atchik Keui and Eski Atchik Keui, at an hour's distance from each other, is an error of the maps.

[57] Il. xxii. 145.

Οἱ δὲ παρὰ σκοπιὴν καὶ ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα
Τείχεος αἰὲν ὑπ' ἐκ κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν ἐσσεύοντο.

[58] Il. iii. 145.

Αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκανον, ὅθι Σκαιάι πύλαι ἦσαν.

421. Αἱ δ' ὅτ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο δόμον περικαλλέ' ἵκοντο.

The superb high oak, hallowed to Jupiter,[59] so often mentioned by Homer, and still shown in Strabo's time, stood, according to his account, below the Erineos; and, according to Homer, on the road leading from the Scæan gate to the battle-field. Even at the present moment many Vallonea oaks stand there, of which the traveller may fix upon the oldest and largest, and name it the Oak of Jupiter. Seriously, however, although the Homeric tree may long since have decayed and faded away, enough is still left to awake a phantasy true to life: thus Cicero says of the Marian Oak, "*manet vero et semper manebit, sata enim est ingenio.*"

At the south-eastern declivity of the hill of Atchik Keui flows a small brook, called the Kemar Chaï or Kemar Su, which received this name from the great

[59] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 597.

Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἰδίως Τρωϊκὸν λέγεται, καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἀγῶνας ὁ ποιητὴς ἐνταῦθα ἀποδίδωσι· πλατύτερον γὰρ ἐστι, καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους τόπους ἐνταῦθα δεικνυμένους ὁρῶμεν, τὸν Ἐρινεὸν, τὸν τοῦ Αἰσυήτου τάφον, τὴν Βατίειαν, τὸ τοὺ Ἴλου σῆμα. 598. Ὅ, τε Ἐρίνεος τραχύς τις τόπος καὶ ἐρινεώδης, τῷ μὲν ἀρχαίῳ κτίσματι ὑποπέπτωκεν· ὥστε τὸ,

Λαὸν δὲ στῆσον παρ' Ἐρινεὸν, ἔνθα μάλιστα
Ἄμβατός ἐστι πόλις, καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος.—(Il. vi. 433.)

Οἰκείως ἂν λέγοι ἡ Ἀνδρομάχη· τῆς δὲ νῦν πόλεως πάμπολυ ἀπέοικε· καὶ ὁ φηγὸς δὲ μικρὸν κατωτέρω ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἐρινεοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ φησὶν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς·

Ἕκτωρ δ' ὡς Σκαιάς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν ἵκανεν.—(Il. vi. 237.)

Ὄφρα δ' ἐγὼ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν πολέμιζον,
Οὐκ ἐθέλεσκε μάχην ἀπὸ τείχεος ὀρνύμεν' Ἕκτωρ,
Ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐς Σκαιάς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν ἵκανεν.—(Il. ix. 352.)

That Homer, by the word φηγὸς does not mean a beech, but the indigenous Vallonea oak with its edible fruit, is the decided opinion of most of the ancient commentators. The Roman authors use for it invariably the word "quercus," as may be proved by comparing those passages of Dionysius, Livy, and Theophrastus, where it occurs.

arch (called in modern Greek *καμάρα*) of a Roman aqueduct. This arch lies about an hour and a half's walk up the stream from Atchik Keui, in a wild region thickly overgrown with firs. On the other bank, not far from Kara Ghiun, the brook is supplied by bountiful springs, one of which turns a mill, at about half an hour's distance below the arch. Further down, the water is less abundant, and the bed becomes dry in many places; the water losing itself among the fragments of rock rolled down from the mountains, notwithstanding the perennial springs which rise in many places: one of these springs, yielding water both good and cold, rises in the immediate neighbourhood of the chiflik, on the right bank of the brook, and supplies the inhabitants with water for drinking. Further down, a brook flows towards the Scamander, in a southerly direction, through a region overgrown with underwood and trees, and called Batakia. Now, if Homer's Ilium really stood on the hill of Atchik Keui, it was the water of the Kemar Chaï that filled the renowned basin where the Trojan women washed, and where Hector fell by the hand of Achilles.[60]

A warm spring is as little to be found at this spot now, as in Strabo's time, and may have been an invention of the poet. Dr. Forchhammer mentions, however, in his Topography,[61] that the rocks in the neighbour-

[60] Il. xxii. 153.

Ἔνθα δ' ἐπ' αὐτάων πλυνοὶ εὐρέες ἐγγὺς ἔασι
Καλοὶ, λαΐνεοι, ὅθι εἵματα σιγαλόεντα
Πλύνεσκον Τρώων ἄλοχοι, καλαί τε θύγατρες,
Τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν.

[61] Page 33.—"Below the aqueduct the stream flows in a very narrow valley, between high mountains covered with a wild and luxuriant vegetation, and at a distance of about two miles turns a mill,

hood of the hill are of a volcanic nature; so that it can well be imagined possible that a warm spring once existed here:[62] the arch of the aqueduct opens 55 feet over the wild rocky ravine through which the Kemar Chaï rushes; and on its key-stone a head in *alto relievo* may be remarked, probably that of the emperor who caused it to be constructed. The spring, the water of which was led over the arch, now flows off higher up the mountain, in another direction. This aqueduct, to judge from the remains of large earthen pipes, for-

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called Aaly Bey's Mill. From the mill it passes through high volcanic rocks of a red hue, passing at some places into black."

[62] It appears, however, that one of the fountains of the Scamander in Ida might formerly have been warm, and the other cold; and that Homer refers to these, or, as the author implies, to two springs flowing into and augmenting the stream of the Scamander. I am the more inclined to this opinion, as the article *αἱ* is omitted, thereby implying that these were two *πηγαὶ* of many that supplied the Scamander, which flowed down from Ida: now these springs fall into a river from Ida, and may be regarded more as a source than as a tributary stream.—*Editor*.

Eustathius the Scholiast observes, *λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ποταμὸν σκυθρὸν τάφρον, τάτε ἄλλα εἰς ἄκεσιν φέροντα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποις ἀγαθὸν χώραν ἀκέσασθαι· πηγαὶ δὲ, φησὶν, τούτου δυοῖν δέουσαι, τεσσαράκοντα ἐκ περίας τῆς αὐτῆς ῥέουσαι, καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εἰσι ψυχραὶ, αἱ δὲ θερμαί· ὁ δὲ γεωγράφος λέγει μὴ εὑρίσκεσθαι θερμὰ ἐν τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ πηγαὶ Σκαμάνδρου ἐνταῦθα ὅπου ὁ ποιητὴς ἱστορεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὄρει, καὶ μία ἀλλὰ οὐ δύο εἰκος οὖν φησι τὰ θερμὰ ἐκλελεῖφθαι· τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν κατὰ διάδοσιν ὑπερκρέον ἐκ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου, αὐτόθι ἀνατέλλειν· διὸ καὶ λέγεσθαι Σκαμάνδρου πηγὴν, ἢ καὶ διὰ τὸ πλησίον εἶναι Σκαμάνδρου, καὶ οὔπω μὲν αὐτός.* Strabo says (xiii. p. 610), *Μετὰ δὲ Σκῆψιν Ἄνδειρα, καὶ Πιονία, καὶ ἡ Γαργαρίς· ἔστι δὲ λίθος περὶ τὰ Ἄνδειρα, ὃς καιόμενος, σίδηρος γίνεται.* Thus proving the Ida to contain mineral, and consequently to have been formerly subject to volcanic action.

It cannot, however, in any case be admitted that Homer contradicted himself on so important a point, on which so much depends.

merly conducted the water to Hissarlik, or New Ilium: the peasants often dig out portions of the pipes, using them as chimneys upon the flat roofs of their huts. On the road from Atchik Keui to the aqueduct, little worthy of remark is to be found. At a distance of twenty minutes' walk behind Atchik Keui a small tumulus is to be seen, on the left side of the road, near a Turkish burial-ground: about an hour's walk further on, on turning off the road to the left, to a spot called Mal Tepeh, we meet with the ruins of an ancient temple, of white marble, shaded by high pines, which, judging from the fragments and an inscription with the name ΙΟΥΛΛ(ΙΟΥ), belongs to the Roman era. An hour hence, following the ascent, a sugar-loaf mound called Kara Ghiun, visible at a great distance, rises where the hill-ridge which divides the Scamander from the Simois leaves the spurs of Ida: this travellers have already rightly fixed upon as the Homeric Kallicolone. Strabo asserts it to have lain on the Simois, forty stadia, or five miles English, distant from New Ilium;[63] a statement which, when compared with Homer's account,[64] in which Phoibos and Ares, the deities allied to the Trojans, were spectators of the greatest and most decisive of the Homeric battles from Kallicolone,

[63] Strabo XIII. i. p. 598.

Τῆς γὰρ μάχης ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμανδρίῳ πεδίῳ συντελουμένης, πιθανῶς ἂν ὁ Ἄρης ἄλλοτε μὲν τὴν ἐγκέλευσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ποιοῖτο, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐκ τῶν πλησίον τόπων τοῦ τε Σιμόεντος καὶ τῆς Καλλικολώνης, μέχρι οὗ εἰκὸς καὶ τὴν μάχην παρατετάσθαι· τετταράκοντα δὲ σταδίους διεχούσης τῆς Καλλικολώνης ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν Ἰλίου.

[64] Il. XX. 149.

Ἔνθα Ποσειδάων κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετο, καὶ θεοὶ ἄλλοι
Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἄῤῥηκτον νεφέλην ὤμοισιν ἔσαντο·
Οἱ δ' ἑτέρωσε κάθιζον ἐπ' ὀφρύσι Καλλικολώνης,
Ἀμφὶ σὲ, ἧϊε Φοῖβε, καὶ Ἄρηα πτολίπορθον.

can only refer to Kara Ghiun, which is visible from the whole plain. All that Strabo says respecting the position of the Iliensian village adapts itself perfectly to Atchik Keui, viz., that it lay in the upper part of the Scamandrian plain, 30 stadia from New Ilium, and was capable of being run round. Indeed, the only error which exists lies clearly in the statement that Kallicolone is ten stadia from the village of the Ilienses, which has caused most topographers to place it on the hill-ridge between New Ilium and Kallicolone: this is either a mistake of Strabo himself, who may not have described the neighbourhood from personal survey, or to be laid to the account of his transcribers; that is, if we will not understand him as meaning that the Iliensian village was ten stadia distant from the furthest south-westerly foot of the Kallicolone, which certainly extends to the neighbourhood of Atchik Keui. Strabo calls the ridge, upon the extreme point of which New Ilium lies, a connected ridge, and goes on to say that, for this reason, New Ilium is not to be run round, as is really the case.[65] Now, if we reckon 30 stadia from New Ilium to the village of the Ilienses, 10 thence to Kallicolone, and from New Ilium 40 to Kallicolone, it results that these three points lie in a straight line: consequently, the village of the Ilienses would be on the same ridge, and therefore as incapable of being run round as New Ilium: in addition to which, it would be just as near the Simois as New Ilium, and would

[65] Strabo XIII. i. p. 599.

Οὐδ' ἡ τοῦ Ἕκτορος δὲ περιδρομὴ ἡ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχει τι εὔλογον· οὐ γάρ ἐστι περίδρομος ἡ νῦν, διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ ῥάχιν· ἡ δὲ παλαιὰ ἔχει περιδρομήν.

Il. XXII. 165.

Ὡς τὼ τρὶς Πριάμοιο πόλιν πέρι δινηθήτην
Καρπαλίμοισι πόδεσσι.

not abut on the Scamandrian valley; but, least of all, according to the verse also cited by Strabo,[66] could it lie in or near the plain. Strabo himself, moreover, at one time places the Erineos in the Scamandrian plain, and, at another, he says it lay under the walls of the old town, and a little below the same oak which Homer places at the Scæan gate. How, then, can Strabo mean that the Homeric city, and its successor in later days, the *Κώμη* of the Ilienses, lay only ten stadia from Kallicolone, in a direct line towards New Ilium? In that case it would have lain, not on the plain of Scamander, but, on the contrary, forty stadia from it, and only ten from the Simois.

The site of New Ilium by Hissarlik (*Ἰσαρλίκια*) has been often described by travellers, and, as far as I am aware, never questioned. Dr. von Eckenbrecher alone, in order to support his theory respecting the Pergamos and Throsmos, ascribes to the city an extension towards the east and the south, four times more considerable than that which it really had. Strabo most clearly determined its site to be at the extremity of the great ridge which divides the plain up to the spurs of Ida. It obtained its Turkish name, Hissarlik or fortification,[67] from the ruins of ancient

[66] Il. xx. 216.

> Κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην, ἐπεὶ οὔπω Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
> Ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
> Ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ᾤκεον πολυπίδακος Ἴδης.

[67] The Turks, on finding the remains of ancient temples and the like, invariably mistake them for the ruins of fortifications, nor can they be persuaded to the contrary; even so the Greeks of the present time. The Acropolis of Athens is called *τὸ φρούριον* and *τὸ κάστρον*, and the colossal Temple of the Sun at Baalbek, Ἡλιούπολις: they even sometimes express their surprise that their predecessors should have wasted so much time in decorating their fortresses.—*Editor.*

and superb buildings, temples, &c., the remains of which the inhabitants of the surrounding country used for embellishing their tombs, constructing their mosques, and like purposes; which accounts for pillars and other architectural fragments of the same style and dimensions, together with marbles, &c., being found every where in the neighbourhood of Chiblak and Halilana, (a burial-place belonging to this village,) Bounárbashi, Kalafatlee, Kum Kalèh, and other spots; so that there can be no doubt but that they are the *membra disjecta* of the same buildings with which the patronage of Macedon and Rome had adorned New Ilium. The most considerable of the fragments thus transported are to be found at the extensive burial-place, shaded by large and stately oaks, situate about a quarter of an hour's walk south of Chiblak, on a low range of hills;[68] the little village of Chiblak being itself half an hour's walk east of Hissarlik.

The line of the walls of New Ilium is every where easy to be seen and followed: it led over the ridge enclosing the highest eminence, where the Acropolis, with an ancient temple and a wooden statue of Athena, stood. On the west it enclosed a part of the declivity, as may be seen by the abruptness of the ground in comparison with the low and even plain at the foot. Within the line of the wall the enclosure is covered with ruins; substructions may also be found there: these, however, are rapidly disappearing, owing to the squared stones being found convenient for modern buildings. On the north it advances, with precipitous cliffs, upon the plain of Dümrek.

[68] Many of the fragments of columns have been taken away from time to time, in order to crush and roll the Vallonea into the holds of the ships trading in this commodity.—*Editor*.

It will now be necessary to say a few words with respect to the Dümrek, with the view of identifying it with the Simois, which may be done from various sources; but, first and foremost, from Strabo's description. The Dümrek is smaller, and its water less abundant, than that of the Scamander; it floods the plain in the same way, leaving behind it, north of New Ilium, more considerable and deeper marshes than the former: these marshes are entangled with willows, blackberry bushes, and agnus castus. In our days, the Menderèh and Dümrek are the only two rivers in this neighbourhood that have each its own valley, and both flood the northern part of the Trojan battle-field: this simple circumstance ought to be satisfactory evidence of the river, which is not the Scamander, being the Simois. The Menderèh has already been proved synonymous with the old Scamander: the Dümrek, therefore, must be the Simois, which the Scamander calls to his assistance in order to flood the plain in conjunction, so as to bar the ford against Achilles, then raging against the Trojans.[69] This idea could never have occurred to the poet on seeing Bounárbashi brook, the volume of whose water is ever the same, or Kemar Chaï, far distant from the ford of the Scamander: a fifth brook, with running water, does not exist.

The Dümrek empties itself into the sea under the Rhœteian cliffs, near the sepulchral monument of Ajax, and had its separate bed, even in Ptolemy's time,

[69] Il. xxi. 305.

Οὐδὲ Σκάμανδρος ἔλλγε τὸ ὃν μένος, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον
Χώετο Πηλείωνι, κόρυσσε δὲ κῦμα ῥόοιο,
Ὑψόσ' ἀειρόμενος· Σιμόεντι δὲ κέκλετ' ἀΰσας·
Φίλε κασίγνητε, κ. τ. λ.

as is clear from his data. In Homer's[70] day it flowed into the Scamander; and this was also the case when Strabo wrote, who places the confluence in the plain before New Ilium.[71] At the present day, a deep but ancient bed of the Dümrek, filled with stagnant water, advances close to the mouth of the Scamander, where it ends in a large pond, surrounded by downs. Strabo pointedly remarks, that the Simois flows into the Scamander, near Rhœteium;[72] and, in another place, he states that the Astypalaians, who took possession of Rhœteium, founded the township of Polion on the banks of the Simois. Now, taking these statements in conjunction with the remark of the geographer, "that the valley of the Scamander was broader than that of the Simois," and that a ridge divides them down the middle, (see p. 138, note 44,) it becomes perfectly clear that he meant, by the Simois, the Dümrek of our day. The theory of some, who, on account of the similarity of names, insist upon the identity of the Dümrek with the Thymbrius, is destitute of all foundation, and incapable of proof, since not a single ancient name has stood its ground here. The course and confluence of the two brooks can be accurately ascertained from the account given by Homer himself of the first day's fight, towards the end of the fifth and

[70] Il. v. 773.

Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Τροίην ἶξον, ποταμώ τε ῥέοντε,
Ἠχι ῥοὰς Σιμόεις συμβάλλετον ἠδὲ Σκάμανδρος.

[71] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 597.

Οἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ ὅ, τε Σκάμανδρος καὶ ὁ Σιμόεις, ὁ μὲν τῷ Σιγείῳ πλησιάσας, ὁ δὲ τῷ Ῥοιτείῳ, μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νῦν Ἰλίου συμβάλλουσιν, εἶτ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σίγειον ἐκδιδόασι.

[72] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 601.

Πρῶτοι μὲν οὖν Ἀστυπαλαιεῖς, οἱ τὸ Ῥοίτειον κατασχόντες, συνῴκισαν πρὸς τῷ Σιμόεντι Πόλιον, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Πόλισμα.

the beginning of the sixth Rhapsody.[73] It is said in the end of the fifth book of the Iliad,[74] that when Hera and Athena saw the Achaians give way, and the fight was approaching the ships and leaving the city, they hastened to their assistance, leaving the horses that had conveyed them thither in the meadow where the Scamander and Simois combine their streams; and thence, under the form of doves, hastened forward to spur the Achaians on to renewed efforts.

The traveller must here, naturally, picture to himself the spot where the goddesses left their horses, situate

[73] Il. vi. 2.

Πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθ' ἴθυσε μάχη πεδίοιο,
Ἀλλήλων ἰθυνομένων χαλκήρεα δοῦρα
Μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων.

Il. v. 35.

Ὡς εἰποῦσα, μάχης ἐξήγαγε θοῦρον Ἄρηα.
Τὸν μὲν ἔπειτα καθεῖσεν ἐπ' ἠϊόεντι Σκαμάνδρῳ.

Strabo, xiii. i. p. 595.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ῥοίτειον ἐστὶ τὸ Σίγειον, κατεσπασμένη πόλις, καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον καὶ ὁ Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν, καὶ τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἡ Στομαλίμνη καλουμένη, καὶ αἱ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ἐκβολαί. Συμπεσόντες γὰρ ὅ, τε Σιμόεις καὶ ὁ Σκάμανδρος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, πολλὴν καταφέροντες ἰλὺν, προσχοῦσι τὴν παραλίαν, καὶ τυφλὸν στόμα τε καὶ λιμνοθαλάττας, καὶ ἕλη ποιοῦσι.

[74] Il. v. 711.

Τοὺς δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη
Ἀργείους ὀλέκοντας ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ,
Αὐτίκ' Ἀθηναίην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
768. Μάστιξε δ' ἵππους· τὼ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην
Μεσσηγὺς γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.
* * * * *
Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Τροίην ἶξον, ποταμώ τε ῥέοντε,
Ἧχι ῥοὰς Σιμόεις συμβάλλετον ἠδὲ Σκάμανδρος,
Ἔνθ' ἵππους ἔστησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,
Λύσασ' ἐξ ὀχέων· περὶ δ' ἠέρα πουλὺν ἔχευε.
Τοῖσιν δ' ἀμβροσίην Σιμόεις ἀνέτειλε νέμεσθαι.
Αἱ δὲ βάτην τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοῖαι,
Ἀνδράσιν Ἀργείοισιν ἀλεξέμεναι μεμανῖαι.

in the rear of the Achaian lines, driven back at this moment by the victorious Trojans. In the beginning of the sixth Rhapsody,[73] the fight changes alternately from one side of the plain to the other, between the two rivers. The Menderèh diverges to the south of Kalafatlee, so as to run almost parallel to the Dümrek Chaï from east to west. The fight was, therefore, going on, to and fro, between the Scamander, near Kalafatlee, and the Simois by Kum Keui; nor can the plain be more clearly or simply described than by the poet.

South of Hissarlik and Chiblak, a small valley stretches from east to west, through which flows a brook formed by the rain: a branch of this same brook runs lower down, parallel to the great ridge of New Ilium, upon which lies the great burial-ground south of Chiblak, with its marble fragments and oak-trees; and twenty minutes' walk further west, but south of Hissarlik, a tumulus, from the summit of which the view extends towards the south-east to Atchik Keui, to Kum Keui, and Yenì Shehèr (or Sigeium). It is 30 feet high, with a diameter of 120. One of the roads from Atchik Keui to Kum Kalèh passes through a small dell immediately under the tumulus, and is the first point whence the traveller gets a glimpse of the sea and Yenì Shehèr: for these reasons it cannot be doubted but that this is the grave of the Æsyetes, where the Trojan sentinel was placed. According to Strabo, it lay in the Scamandrian valley, five stadia south of New Ilium, in the direction of the Alexandrian Troas, which perfectly coincides with this hypothesis.

Strabo remarks most correctly, in contradiction to the assertion of the Ilienses respecting the identity of their own with that of the ancient city, that it would,

admitting this identity, have been useless to place a sentinel on the grave of Æsyetes, inasmuch as the Acropolis of New Ilium was much higher, and its distance from the Achaian camp about the same: had, therefore, the sentinel watched in the Acropolis, he would have had no need of swiftness to secure his safety.[75] Xenophon tells us that Mindaros[76] was spectator of a fight carried on near the shore of Rhœteium, partly at sea and partly on land, from the temple of Athena in New Ilium; whence we may suppose that the whole plain, together with the Achaian camp and the sea-shore, was visible from New Ilium,—which may be proved to be the fact by mounting up to the highest point of Hissarlik. Dr. von Eckenbrecher calls the eminence, where it is clear the Acropolis stood, 'Throsmos,' in direct contradiction to Homer, who places this spot on the other bank of the Scamander, near the Achaian camp;[77] a question

[75] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 599.

Ὅ, τε Πολίτης,

Ὅς Τρώων σκοπὸς ἷζε, ποδωκείῃσι πεποιθὼς,
Τύμβῳ ἔπ' ἀκροτάτῳ Αἰσυήταο γέροντος,—(Il. II. 792,)

μάταιος ἦν. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ, ὅμως πολὺ ἂν μείζονος ὕψους τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐσκόπευεν, ἐξ ἴσου σχεδόν τι διαστήματος, μὴ δεόμενος μηδὲν τῆς ποδωκείας τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς χάριν· πέντε γὰρ διέχει σταδίους ὁ νῦν δεικνύμενος τοῦ Αἰσυήτου τάφος κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁδόν.

[76] Hell. i. 1, 2.

Οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶν, ἃς ὁ Δαριεὺς φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβασε τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις, ὡς ἤνοιγε, περὶ τὸ Ῥοίτειον. Ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐμάχοντο ἀπό τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μέχρις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς Μάδυτον, πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐδὲν πράξαντες. Μίνδαρος δὲ καπιδὼν τὴν μάχην, ἐν Ἰλίῳ θύων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὅπως ἀναλάβῃ τὰς μετὰ Δαριέως.

[77] Il. x. 160.

—— ὡς Τρῶες ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο
Εἵαται ἄγχι νεῶν, ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι χῶρος ἐρύκει.

to which we will return by and by. All other arguments which Strabo brings in support of his theory, either as the views of those who take their proofs respecting the site of the city of Priam from Homer, (*i.e.* from the old scholiasts, who sought it at a distance from the sea,) or as his own, or as borrowed from Demetrius and Hestinea (a learned woman from the neighbourhood of Alexandrian Troy, who combats the vainglorious assertion of the New Ilienses and their agent Hellanicus), are clear-sighted and correct: perhaps one may venture to add the following remarks to them.

In the first place, Strabo asserts the distance[78] from New Ilium to the ships of the Achaians to be too inconsiderable, and, moreover, to be in direct contradiction to facts. It may be assumed that the ships lay in the place called Naustathmos, near Sigeium, or in the bay between Rhœteium and Sigeium, in the haven of the Achaians (*Ἀχαιῶν λίμνη*). The greater part of the plain between the advancing slopes of the hills is alluvial ground, existing only since the Trojan war. Herodotus bears witness to the increment of the land in the direction of Ilium,[79] and compares it to the advance made by the banks of the Mæander, Cayster, Sperchius, and many other rivers, which began to deposit their sediment on the sea-shore in the historic period. Should it be asserted that Atchik Keui is 70 stadia, or nearly

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Il. xi. 56.

Τρῶες δ' αὖθ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο.

[78] Eustath. Il. xvi. 734.

ἦ ῥα καὶ ἐν Τρώεσσι κυβιστῆρες ἔασιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ παραθαλάττιοι αὐτοί εἰσι δηλαδὴ ὡς ἐνεθίζεσθαι κυβιστᾶν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ σημειοῦνται οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀπῳκισμένην τῆς θαλάσσης εἶναι τὴν παλαιὰν Ἴλιον, ὡς καὶ ὁ γεωγράφος δείκνυσιν· εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, φησὶν, οἱ Τρῶες παράλιοι, τί καινὸν, εἰ καὶ ἐκυβίστων;

[79] Herod. See note 27, p. 130.

9 English miles, distant from the Achaian camp, and that such a distance is too considerable, because the warriors in the third battle, and in the eighth book, pass and repass it, conquering and flying by turns,[80] we must call to mind what Nestor relates of a fight in which he had himself taken part in his youth.[81] The Pylians conquer the Epeans, near Thryon, on the Alpheus, and follow them unremittingly to Buprasium, a distance of about 300 stadia, or near four times further than from Atchik Keui to the sea.[82] Eurystheus had performed a distance of 300 stadia (37 English miles) in his chariot, after his defeat at Pellene, before he was caught at the Scironic rocks by Hyllus and Iolaus. The speedy passage over very great distances, as well on foot as in chariots, is, like other extraordinary efforts of strength, peculiar to the heroes of epic poetry.

In the second place, Strabo asserts that New Ilium

[80] Il. vii. 132.

Αἲ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ, καὶ Ἀθηναίη, καὶ Ἄπολλον,
Ἠβῷμ', ὡς ὅτ' ἐπ' ὠκυρόῳ Κελάδοντι μάχοντο
Ἀγρόμενοι Πύλιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἐγχεσίμωροι,
Φειᾶς πὰρ τείχεσσιν, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.

[81] Strabo, viii. iii. p. 511.

Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἀντεπεξίοντες Ἐπειοὶ τοῖς Πολίοις, πῶς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐξορμῶσι, καὶ τὸ Θρύον; Πῶς δ' ἐκεῖ τῆς μάχης γενομένης, τρεφθέντες ἐπὶ Βουπρασίου φεύγουσι;

[82] Strabo, viii. vi. p. 547.

Εὐρυσθεὺς μὲν οὖν στρατεύσας εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας καὶ Ἰόλαον, βοηθησάντων Ἀθηναίων, ἱστορεῖται πεσεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα, Γαργηττοῖ ταφῆναι· τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν χωρὶς ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ, ἀποκόψαντος αὐτὴν Ἰολάου περὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Ἀκαρίαν, ὑπὸ ἁμαξιτόν· καὶ ὁ τόπος καλεῖται Εὐρυσθέως κεφαλή.

Apoll. ii. c. 8. § 1.

Αὐτὸν δὲ Εὐρυσθέα φεύγοντα ἐφ' ἁμάξατος καὶ πέτρας ἤδη περιπιπτεύοντα Σκειρωνίδας κτείνει διώξας Ὕλλος, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν Ἀλκμένῃ δίδωσι.

cannot be run round;[83] and, in fact, the sides of the long ridge of hills onwards from Hissarlik are so precipitous next to the Simois, that, although it can certainly be ridden over at one spot on ponies of the country accustomed to climbing, under no circumstances could it be run over on foot. With Hissarlik before his eyes, it would never occur to a poet to imagine a race sustained by two heavily armed warriors thrice round about it. The isolated position of the hill of Atchik Keui is, on the contrary, such as to give rise to such an idea, or render possible the origin of such a legend.

In the third place, Strabo states that the principal fights of the Iliad[84] are placed in the plain of Scamander, and that we must consequently look there for the Homeric city. This is also extremely important; for, were New Ilium identical with the old town, there would be no ground for giving the Scamandrian plain this preference.

The fourth argument is derived from the position of the Erineos and the oak in the neighbourhood of Thymbria, and has been already discussed. We may add, that the legend of the capture of Troy by Hercules, circumstantially detailed by Diodorus[85] and Apollodorus,[86] and mentioned briefly by Homer[87] and

[83] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 599: see note 65, p. 149.

Οὐδ' ἡ τοῦ Ἕκτορος δὲ περιδρομὴ ἡ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχει τι εὔλογον· οὐ γάρ ἐστι περίδρομος ἡ νῦν, διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ ῥάχιν· ἡ δὲ παλαιὰ ἔχει περιδρομήν.

[84] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 597: see note 44, p. 138, where the passage is quoted at length.

[85] Lib. iv. 32.

[86] Lib. ii. c. 4, § 1.

[87] Il. v. 641.

Ἐξ οἵης σὺν νηυσὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισιν,
Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[88] can only be applied to Atchik Keui, or some spot like it. Hercules landed with his ships at Sigeium, left Oicleus behind to guard them, and marched in person against Troy with the flower of his army: during the time he was marching up the country, Laomedon hurries down to the ships with his army, kills Oicleus, and forces the others to put to sea precipitously. On his return to the city, however, he finds Hercules with his chosen host before the gates, gives him battle, and falls, upon which the city is taken. Hence it is evident that Hercules must have arrived at Troy by a different road from that by which Laomedon came: a glance at the map shows that this incident adapts itself neither to New Ilium nor to Bounárbashi. On the other hand, supposing Atchik Keui to be the site of the city, Hercules might have advanced up the valley of the Simois against Troy, while Laomedon, by coming down that of the Scamander to Sigeium, would have been enabled to surprise the ships, without even having seen Hercules, on account of the intervening ridge so frequently alluded to.

Dr. von Eckenbrecher has adduced two principal arguments in support of the identity of New Ilium with Troy. Firstly, that no greater distance from the sea than that of New Ilium would agree with Homer's account of Idæus's message to the Greeks.[89] Secondly,

[88] Dion. Hal. A. R. I. xxxiv. 18.

[89] Il. VII. 368.

Κέκλυτέ μευ, Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι, ἠδ' ἐπίκουροι,
Ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.
Νῦν μὲν δόρπον ἕλεσθε κατὰ πτόλιν ὡς τοπάρος περ,
Καὶ φυλακῆς μνήσασθε, καὶ ἐγρήγορθε ἕκαστος·
Ἠῶθεν δ' Ἰδαῖος ἴτω κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας.

381. Ἠῶθεν δ' Ἰδαῖος ἔβη κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας.

that the summit of Ida must be seen from the city of Priam, which is not possible from either Bounárbashi or Atchik Keui. With respect to the mission of Idæus, and the supposition that he left the city during the morning twilight (*ἠῶθεν*), negotiated a truce for the burial of the dead, and returned so early with the answer to the city, that the sun had only just risen as the Trojans and Achaians met on either side of the field to seek their dead; it will be found that the whole argument turns on a false interpretation of the word *ἠῶθεν*, which in Homer is often used, not as signifying the actual morning light, but rather as equivalent to the German term *morgen*, or *the morrow:* the scholiasts have so explained it in several places, and Voss has so translated it. Much more might be said on this subject: the limits of this Paper, however, require that we pass on to other points; suffice it, therefore, to say that Idæus received orders in the evening simply to go on the morrow to the ships, and he had time enough to perform his mission before sunrise.

That the poet pictured the city to himself as lying at a considerable distance, and not visible from the camp, is sufficiently proved by the Iliad; for thus alone can we account for Hector and his followers, after the successful issue of their arms, encamping two

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412. *Ὡς εἰπὼν, τὸ σκῆπτρον ἀνέσχεθε πᾶσι θεοῖσιν.*
Ἀψορρόν δ' Ἰδαῖος ἔβη προτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρήν.
421. *Ἠέλιος μὲν ἔπειτα νέον προσέβαλλεν ἀρούρας,*
Ἐξ ἀκαλαρρείταο βαθυρρόου Ὠκεανοῖο
Οὐρανὸν εἰσανιών· οἱ δ' ἤντεον ἀλλήλοισιν.
Ἔνθα διαγνῶναι χαλεπῶς ἦν ἄνδρα ἕκαστον·
Ἀλλ' ὕδατι νίζοντες ἀπὸ βρότον αἱματόεντα,
Δάκρυα θερμὰ χέοντες, ἀμαξάων ἐπάειραν.

nights at Throsmos, on the other side of the Scamander, close to the Achaian intrenchments, and far from the city, so as to be able to make their attack on the morrow.[90] Nevertheless, in order to guard against the possibility of a surprise from some other side, Hector directs fires to be lighted in the city, and the walls to be guarded by the old men and youths. In consequence of this distance, the Trojans are in continual fear of a surprise, the women do not venture to wash before the city gates, and the Achaians, on the

[90] Il. VIII. 489.

Τρώων δ' αὖτ' ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ,
Νόσφι νεῶν ἀγαγὼν, ποταμῷ ἔπι δινήεντι,
Ἔν καθαρῷ.
517. Κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ Διὶ φίλοι ἀγγελλόντων,
Παῖδας πρωθήβας, πολιοκροτάφους τε γέροντας
Λέξασθαι περὶ ἄστυ, θεοδμήτων ἐπὶ πύργων.
Θηλύτεραι δὲ γυναῖκες ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἑκάστη
Πῦρ μέγα καιόντων· φυλακὴ δέ τις ἔμπεδος ἔστω,
Μὴ λόχος εἰσέλθῃσι πόλιν, λαῶν ἀπεόντων.
556. Τόσσα, μεσηγὺ νεῶν ἠδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων,
Τρώων καιόντων πυρὰ φαίνετο Ἰλιόθι πρό.
561. ——————— Ἠῶ μίμνον.

Il. X. 160.

Οὐκ ἀΐεις, ὡς Τρῶες ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο
Εἵαται ἄγχι νεῶν, ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι χῶρος ἐρύκει;

Il. XXII. 153.

Ἔνθα δ' ἐπ' αὐτάων πλυνοὶ εὐρέες ἐγγὺς ἔασι
Καλοὶ, λαΐνεοι, ὅθι εἵματα σιγαλόεντα
Πλύνεσκον Τρώων ἅλοχοι, καλαί τε θύγατρες,
Τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν.

Il. X. 248.

Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·
Τυδείδη, μήτ' ἄρ με μάλ' αἴνεε, μήτε τι νείκει·
Εἰδόσι γάρ τοι ταῦτα μετ' Ἀργείοις ἀγορεύεις.
Ἀλλ' ἴομεν· μάλα γὰρ νὺξ ἄνεται, ἐγγύθι δ' ἠώς·
Ἄστρα δὲ δὴ προβέβηκε, παρῴχηκεν δὲ πλέων νὺξ
Τῶν δύο μοιράων, τριτάτη δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λέλειπται.

other hand, place their bravest warriors in ambush near the city, ready to slip in or fall upon those who ventured too far away. None of these circumstances adapt themselves to New Ilium, but all of them to Atchik Keui, which has bushes, marshes, and hills near it, affording opportunities for hiding and unexpected sallies; while New Ilium lies at not more than half the distance from the ships, and possesses an uninterrupted view thither. It is necessary to imagine the plain as extensive as possible; for it must be large enough, as Philostratus the elder remarks, for Asia to contend with Europe.[91]

With respect to the second argument of Dr. von Eckenbrecher in favour of the antiquity of New Ilium, Homer certainly says that Zeus saw the city and the ships[92] from Ida: this expression is, however, rather to be taken generally, and as referring, not to circumstances taking place within the city, but to battles in the plain, of which Zeus was spectator: but even admitting it to be stated somewhere or other, that Zeus had seen from Ida an occurrence which took place within the city, still nothing is proved respecting the position of Zeus, who sees, with his clear celestial eyes, whither no human eye can reach—from Ida to Olympus; from Olympus to the battle-field. And who can expect of Homer, or the authors of the Iliad, or Pisistratus and his assistants, in their arrangement of and re-model-

[91] Philostr. Sen. lib. i. Iconum, 1.

Ὑψηλὴ μὲν αὕτη ἡ πόλις, καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ κρήδεμνα τοῦ Ἰλίου· πεδίον δὲ μέγα καὶ ἀποχρῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀντιτάξαι.

[92] Il. viii. 49.

Ἔνθ' ἵππους ἔστησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,
Λύσας ἐξ ὀχέων, κατά δ' ἠέρα πουλὺν ἔχευεν.
Αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κορυφῇσι καθέζετο κύδεϊ γαίων,
Εἰσορόων Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

ling the cantos, that, living at Sigeium, whence the summit of Ida appears highest and most beautiful, they cared or knew from what part of the plain the summit was visible? Zeus simply steps from Olympus to Ida, on whose cloudy pinnacle he had a sanctuary,[93] when he wishes to take part in the fight, by opposing his terrible and glittering ægis to the Achaians, darting lightning, or causing his thunder to roll. Hermes says to Priam, on leaving him before the tent of Achilles, that it becometh not an immortal to put himself into too close communication with mankind.[94] Although the poet brings the other gods into all sorts of communication with mortals, yet he never dares to bring the father of the gods lower down than the highest peak of Ida; in nowise troubling himself about whether he can thence see, as the crow flies, every object which Dr. von Eckenbrecher requires he should.[95] Hellanicus of Mitylene, so far as we know, was the first who, in order to flatter the vanity of his Æolian brethren of New Ilium, not only asserted the identity of the modern with the ancient city, but that the inhabitants themselves were the lineal descendants of the ancient Trojans;

[93] Il. VIII. 47.

Ἴδην δ' ἵκανε πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν,
Γάργαρον, ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος, βωμός τε θυήεις.

[94] Il. XXIV. 463.

——————— νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη,
Ἀθάνατον θεὸν ὧδε βροτοὺς ἀγαπαζέμεν ἄντην.

[95] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 601.

Ἑλλάνικος δὲ χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἰλιεῦσιν, οἷος ὁ ἐκείνου μῦθος, συνηγορεῖ τῷ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι πόλιν τὴν νῦν τῇ τότε. Τὴν δὲ χώραν, ἀφανισθείσης τῆς πόλεως, οἱ τὸ Σίγειον καὶ τὸ Ῥοίτειον ἔχοντες διενείμαντο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἕκαστοι τῶν πλησιοχώρων, ἀπέδοσαν δ' ἀνοικισθείσης.

that they had formerly wandered from Greece to Troy; so that the Trojan war was, in fact, a struggle of Greeks against Greeks;—regardless of the testimony of Homer, who describes the Trojans[96] as speaking another language, and says that the Persians and Pæonians reckoned them among their countrymen. According to Herodotus,[97] the Gergithes were the only descendants of the ancient Trojans. Ephorus also

[96] Il. II. 848.

Αὐτὰρ Πυραίχμης ἄγε Παίονας ἀγκυλοτόξους,
Τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος, ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρυ ῥέοντος,
Ἀξιοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδναται αἴῃ.
Παφλαγόνων δ' ἡγεῖτο Πυλαιμένεος λάσιον κῆρ,
Ἐξ Ἐνετῶν ὅθεν ἠμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων.

Heyne ann. 448, 9, 50, Pæones Pyræchmes inde ab Amydone ad Axium in Thraciâ. Hi Trojanorum socii ex Europâ fuerunt. 851. 855. Redit ad Asiam borealem, et quidem ad oram Ponti Euxini.

Soph. Ajax, 1242.

σοῦ γὰρ λέγοντος οὐκέτ' ἂν μάθοιμ' ἐγώ·
τὴν βάρβαρον γὰρ γλῶσσαν οὐκ ἐπαΐω.

Annot. Nihil aliud hic Teucro exprobratur, quam quod ex Hesione Laomedontis filio natus, non pro Græco habendus sit.

Il. XVI. 548.

Ὣς ἔφατο· Τρῶας δὲ κατακρῆθεν λάβε πένθος
Ἄσχετον, οὐκ ἐπιεικτὸν, ἐπεί σφισιν ἔρμα πόληος
Ἔσκε, καὶ ἀλλοδαπός περ ἐών.

[97] Herod. V. 122.

Ὑμέης δὲ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν τῶν ἐπιδιωξάντων τοὺς ἐς Σάρδις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων, τραπόμενος ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα, εἷλε Κῖον τὴν Μυσίην. ταύτην δὲ ἐξελὼν, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκλελοιπέναι Δαυρίσην, καὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίης, καταλιπὼν τὴν Προποντίδα, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἦγε τὸν στρατόν· καὶ εἷλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας, ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἷλε δὲ Γέργιθας, τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν· αὐτός τε Ὑμέης, αἱρέων ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα, νούσῳ τελευτᾷ ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι.

Herod. VII. 43.

Ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον· ὃς πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεί τε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὁρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ῥέεθρον, οὐδ'

places them among those who were not Greeks. Among the Attic orators, Isocrates, and, among the poets, Pindar, Æschylus, and Euripides, held the same opinions. The theory of Hellanicus, however, appears not to have found any distinguished supporter before Alexander the Great. Later, when their claims had become recognized, the Ilienses endeavoured to revive their town. After the time of the Scipios, and Sulla, Cæsar Augustus, and subsequent emperors, honoured the Ilienses with exemptions and privileges; and the belief that New Ilium was the ancient city became prevalent: to this belief, certain historians also, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, the rhetor Aristides, Dionysius Periegetes, Quintus Smyrnæus,—some of the epigrammatists,—and, of the Romans, Virgil, Ovid, Pliny, Mela, and others, attached themselves.

It has already been remarked, that the marble fragments near the hamlet Halilana, a place north of Chiblak, usually held to be the remains of the temple of the Thymbrian Apollo, were dragged thither from Hissarlik, to adorn the Turkish cemetery; and here, again, Strabo's simple remark,[98] that the Thymbrian sanctuary lay at the confluence of the Thymbrius with the Scamander, shows how reckless or ignorant tra-

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ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιᾷ τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη, ἵμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι. θεησάμενος δὲ, καὶ πυθόμενος κείνων ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε βοῦς χιλίας· χοὰς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι, νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε· ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ῥοίτειον πόλιν, καὶ Ὀφρύνειον, καὶ Δάρδανον, ἥπερ δὴ Ἀβύδῳ ὅμουρός ἐστι· ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ, Γέργιθας Τευκρούς.

[98] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 598.

πλησίον γὰρ ἐστι τὸ πεδίον, ἡ Θύμβρα, καὶ ὁ δι' αὐτοῦ ῥέων ποταμὸς Θύμβριος, ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὸν Σκάμανδρον, κατὰ τὸ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν· τοῦ δὲ νῦν Ἰλίου, καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους διέχει.

vellers have been in laying down ancient sites; for, allowing the Dümrek Chaï to be the Thymbrius, a point already controverted, these ruins lie an hour and a half journey distant from the nearest point where, under any circumstances, the Dümrek could possibly flow into the Menderèh.

North of Hissarlik, there lies on the hill-ridge on the other side of the Simois, designated above as the third, on which was also the ancient city Rhœteium, a tumulus, at the southern foot of which is a vault extending some paces inwards, from which circumstance it has obtained the denomination In-tepeh, or vault-hill.

The height of this tumulus is 30 feet, and the diameter of the base 130; but, inasmuch as the western side of it is a continuation of the side of the hill on which it is placed, it appears much higher than in fact it is, when seen from that side. Above the vault in the grave-hill one-half is cut out perpendicularly, and the two ends are supported by two walls meeting each other at right angles. With respect to the date and intent of these evidently more recent additions, nothing decisive can be said; probably a watch-tower stood there formerly. The supposition of this being the original tomb of Ajax, mentioned by the ancient writers, has been with justice admitted; because it appears, *nemine contradicente*, that it was situated on the promontory of Rhœteium, on the opposite side of the bay to the grave of Achilles,[99] at a dis-

[99] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 595.

Εἶτα Ῥοίτειον πόλις ἐπὶ λόφῳ κειμένη, καὶ τῷ Ῥοιτείῳ συνεχὴς ἠϊὼν ἀλιτενὴς, ἐφ' ᾗ Αἰάντειον, μνῆμα καὶ ἱερὸν Αἴαντος, καὶ ἀνδρείας· ὃν ἄραντος Ἀντωνίου κομισθέντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἀπέδωκε τοῖς Ῥοιτειεῦσι πάλιν, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλοις ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ. * * * * * Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς παραλίας

tance from the camp, owing to Ajax having been a self-murderer. The army is represented, moreover, as

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ταύτης, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥοιτείου μέχρι Σιγείου, καὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως μνήματος εὐθυπλούντων ἑξήκοντα σταδίων· ὑποπέπτωκε δὲ τῷ Ἰλίῳ πᾶσα, τῷ μὲν νῦν κατὰ τὸν Ἀχαίων λιμένα, ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίους διέχουσα, τῷ δὲ προτέρῳ, τριάκοντα ἄλλοις σταδίοις ἀνωτέρω πρὸς τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἴδην μέρος. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ἱερόν ἐστι καὶ μνῆμα πρὸς τῷ Σιγείῳ. Πατρόκλου δὲ καὶ Ἀντιλόχου μνήματα· καὶ ἐναγίζουσιν οἱ Ἰλιεῖς πᾶσι καὶ τούτοις, καὶ τῷ Αἴαντι.

Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 33. Extra sinum sunt Rhœtea littora, Rhœteo et Dardanio et Arisbe oppidis habitata fuit et Achilleum oppidum juxta tumulum Achillis conditum a Mitylænis et mox Atheniensibus ubi classis qui steterat in Sigæo. Fuit et Æantium a Rhodiis conditum in alterum cornu, Ajace ibi sepulto xxx. stad. intervallo a Sigæo, et ipso statione classis suæ.

Here the accounts of Strabo and Pliny differ very materially; the first stating the distance between Rhœteium and Sigeium to be sixty, the latter only thirty stadia. Strabo is usually very correct in his measurements, although so much cannot be said for Pliny: I should in this case, however, be inclined to lean to Pliny's calculation, since I should take the distance between these two landmarks, *εὐθυπλοῦντι*, at nearer four miles than seven and a half.—*Editor*.

Il. II. 557.

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγε δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
Στῆσε δ' ἄγων, ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.

Strabo, IX. i. 572, Ox. ed. l. 3.

μάρτυρι χρήσασθαι τῷ ποιητῇ, τοῦ, τὴν νῆσον ἐξαρχῆς Ἀθηναίων ὑπάρξαι. Οἱ παραδέχονται δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ κριτικοὶ, διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς. Διὰ τὶ γὰρ ναυλοχῶν ἔσχατος φαίνεται ὁ Αἴας, οὐ μετ' Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ Πρωτεσιλάῳ Θετταλῶν;

Sch. Il. VII. 86.

Il. XIII. 674.

Ἕκτωρ δ' οὐκ ἐπέπυστο Διῒ φίλος, οὐδέ τι ᾔδη,
Ὅττι ῥά οἱ νηῶν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ δηϊόωντο
Λαοὶ ὑπ' Ἀργείων,
* * * *

hesitating whether he was entitled to the burial of a hero;[100] and it was finally determined that he should

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681. Ἔνθ' ἔσαν Αἴαντός τε νέες καὶ Πρωτεσιλάου,
Θῶν' ἔφ' ἁλὸς πολιῆς εἰρυμέναι·
* * * *

312. Νηυσὶ μὲν ἐν μέσσῃσιν ἀμύνειν εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι,
Αἴαντές τε δύω, Τεῦκρός θ', ὃς ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν
Τοξοσύνῃ, ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ ἐν σταδίῃ ὑσμίνῃ.

Il. VIII. 222.

Στῆ δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσσῆος μεγακήτεϊ νηῒ μελαίνῃ,
Ἥ ῥ' ἐν μεσσάτῳ ἔσκε, γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρωσε,
Ἠμὲν ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίης Τελαμωνιάδαο,
Ἠδ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, τοί ῥ' ἔσχατα νῆας ἐΐσας
Εἴρυσαν, ἠνορέῃ πίσυνοι καὶ κάρτεϊ χειρῶν·

Il. XI. 5. The same words are repeated.

Dicit enim Heyne ἔσχατα, non *tempore* sed *loco:* whence we learn that Ajax was placed on the Sigeian side, or left, but Achilles on the Rhœteian, or right, and the Ajaces, Teucrus, and Ulysses, in the middle.—*Editor.*

[100] Soph. Ajax, 1068.

Μεν. καὶ σοὶ προφωνῶ τόνδε μὴ θάπτειν, ὅπως
μὴ τόνδε θάπτων αὐτὸς εἰς ταφὰς πέσῃς.
Χο. Μενέλαε, μὴ γνώμας ὑποστήσας σοφὰς,
εἶτ' αὐτὸς ἐν θανοῦσιν ὑβριστὴς γένῃ.
* * * * *

1109.—Μεν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν ψέξαιμι δαιμόνων νόμους;
Τευ. Εἰ τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἐᾷς θάπτειν παρών.
* * * * *

1119.—Μεν. Ἔν σοὶ φράσω· τόνδ' ἐστὶν οὐχὶ θαπτέον.
Τευ. Σὺ δ' ἀντακούσει τοῦτον, ὡς τεθάψεται.
* * * * *

1372.—Τευ. σὲ δ', ὦ γεραιοῦ σπέρμα Λαέρτου πατρὸς,
τάφου μὲν ὀκνῶ τοῦδ' ἐπιψαύειν ἐᾷν,
μὴ τῷ θανόντι τοῦτο δυσχερὲς ποιῶ.
* * * * *

1388.—Τευ. Παῖ, σὺ δὲ πατρός γ', ὅσον ἰσχύεις,

receive the honour of a tumulus, but apart from those who fell gloriously in battle. In this neighbourhood Catullus's brother is also buried.

The road hence to Kum Kalèh (Sand Castle) passes over flat alluvial plains, whence the castle takes its name: the soil is, moreover, salt and sandy, and consequently sterile. On leaving the tumulus of Ajax, the traveller first passes over the Simois, near to the foot of Rhœteium, where it joins the sea: it is an inconsiderable stream in summer, its low bank forming a bay between it on the one side and the Rhœteian promontory on the other. The bay thus formed goes by the modern name Karanlük Limàn, or the harbour of darkness: its shallowness, however, prevents it from being frequented by vessels. At a distance of three quarters of an hour's walk hence, the traveller reaches the branch of the Simois to which allusion has already been made as that which formerly fell into the Scamander: it now appears in the form of a lake, full of stagnant water, near the mouth of the Scamander, the bed of which at this spot is, at least in summer, sandy, and about 250 feet in breadth: a long rickety wooden bridge, preferable nevertheless to the ford, crosses this lake, which is not above 18 inches deep in the dry season.

The Turkish fort Kum Kalèh, and the town which has sprung up around it, stand on the northern extremity of the sand, the major part of which is periodi-

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φιλότητι θιγὼν πλευρὰς σὺν ἐμοὶ
τάσδ' ἐπικούφιζ'· ἔτι γὰρ θερμαὶ
σύριγγες ἄνω φυσῶσι μέλαν
μένος·

Sch. Il. VII. 86.

cally exposed to the flooding of the Scamander. On following this sandy and alluvial plain back in a south-easterly direction, we come to ground which is not alluvial, but which formed the original shore of the Hellespont, as the high slanting cliffs still testify; and it is upon this eminence that the two mounds lie,—the largest of which, standing on the brink of the ancient or original strand, has been rightly held to be the tumulus of Achilles. Its height is about 35 feet, its diameter 120, and it lies in so conspicuous a position as to be visible not only to those who sail through the Hellespont, but, as Philostratus implies, also from the opposite European coast.[101] When Homer states it to be on the projecting shore of the Hellespont,[102] we must remember that the adjoining plains of sand did not then exist. That Achilles was buried on the Sigeian promontory, was a matter of notoriety among the ancients; but whether the second tumulus, situated somewhat lower down, be the grave of Antilochus or of Patroclus, was, even in more remote ages, a question. To judge from Homer's testimony,[103] a low and tem-

[101] Philostr. Heroica, xii.

τὸν μὲν δὴ κολωνόν, ξένε, τοῦτον, ὃν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς ἀκτῆς ὁρᾷς ἀνεστηκότα, ἔγειραν, οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ξυνελθόντες, ὅτε τῷ Πατρόκλῳ ξυνεμίχθη εἰς τὸν τάφον, κάλλιστον ἐντάφιον ἑαυτῷ τε κἀκείνῳ δούς.

[102] Od. xxiv. 76.

Ἐν τῷ (ἀμφιφορεῖ) κεῖται λευκὰ ὀστέα, φαιδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Μίγδα δὲ, Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο θανόντος·
Χωρὶς δ', Ἀντιλόχοιο· τὸν ἔξοχα τίες ἁπάντων
Τῶν ἄλλων ἑτάρων, μετὰ Πάτροκλόν γε θανόντα.
Ἀμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
Χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητάων,
Ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ προυχούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.

Vide note 99, p. 167.

[103] Il. xxiii. 254.

Ἐν κλισίῃσι δὲ θέντες, ἑανῷ λιτὶ κάλυψαν.

porary tumulus only was at first raised over the funeral pile of Patroclus, and his ashes thus preserved: when, however, Achilles fell some time afterwards, his ashes were buried on the same spot with those of his friend, and a high hill heaped over both. Antilochus[104] is said to lie separate from these: the second tumulus may, therefore, be fairly assigned to him.

A few steps from Pasha Tepeh, towards the west, a Turkish fountain is to be seen on the strand, which may call to our recollection the spring which spouted[105] forth when Achilles, on leaping from the galley, touched the shore with his foot.

Τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα, θεμείλιά τε προβάλοντο
Ἀμφὶ πυρήν· εἴθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν·
Χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον.

[104] Od. xxiv. 76: see note 102.

[105] Schol. Lycophr. ad 243.

εἰπὼν ἀνωτέρω, ὅτι βλέπω συστροφὴν πλοίων συρομένην ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ ἐπιβοῶσαν τῇ πατρίδι μου Τροίᾳ, τόδε καὶ τόδε· νῦν φησὶ, καὶ δὴ στενάζει ἡ Μύρινα πολίχνη Τροίας, καὶ οἱ αἰγιαλοὶ τῶν χρεμετισμῶν τῶν ἵππων ἀκούσαντες, ὅταν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὕστερος ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων πηδήσας ἐκ τῆς νεῶς εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς βίας τοῦ πηδήματος ἀναδώσῃ, καὶ συμβολὴ πολέμου γενήσεται, σαλπισάντων τῶν σαλπίγγων τῶν ἐν κογχύλῃ * * * * * * Ad 245. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως πηδήματος ἱστορία τοιαύτη ἐστίν. Χρησμὸς ἦν δοθεὶς Ἕλλησι, τὸν προπηδήσαντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τῶν Τρώων ἐκ τῶν ὁλκάδων, πρῶτον τῶν ἄλλων ἀποθανεῖν; Προπηδήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου, καὶ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑφ' Ἕκτορος, ἢ ἑτέρου τινὸς, ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τῷ τούτου παθήματι παιδευθεὶς, ὕστερος ἁπάντων τῆς ἰδίας νεὼς σφοδρότερος πηδήσας πλήττει τὴν γῆν, καὶ ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὡς φασὶν, ἀνεδόθη, μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀντίμαχος, λέγων οὕτως

Ῥίμφα δ' ἀπ' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης ὑψόσ' ἀερθεὶς,
Πελείδης, ἀπόρουσεν ἐλαφὸς ἠΰτε κίρκος·
Τοῦδ' ἔμπροσθε ποδῶν κρήνη γένεται ἀενάουσα·

καὶ Εὐριπίδης φησὶ διὰ Νεοπτολέμου,

Τὸ Τρωϊκὸν πήδημα πηδήσας ποδοῖν.
Χωρεῖ πρὸς αὐτούς.

The small hill resembling a tumulus, situated about an hour's walk south of the Greek village Yenì Shehèr, or *Νεοχώριον*, must not be reckoned among the artificial mounds, inasmuch as the natural rock projects on the summit: it has, nevertheless, quite the appearance of having been artificially rounded off, nor is it improbable that it contains at its foot a sepulchral chamber hewn in the solid rock, the entrance to which is, however, now concealed. The Greeks call it *"Αγιος 'Αθανάσιος* (the Holy or Saint Athanasius), and the Turks, Kesik Tepeh, or Khandek Tepeh, (the cut hill, or the ditch hill,) on account of a deep ditch, dug through the neighbouring ridge which runs along the shore, in order to carry off into the sea, by a short cut, a part of the water resulting from the overflowing of the Scamander, as well as to drain a marsh lying close by: it however no longer serves the end formerly designed, its bed having raised itself by the neglect of ages to a higher level than that to which the water intended to be carried off by it ever attains. The legend related by the peasants in the neighbourhood, with respect to this canal, which is, without doubt, extremely ancient, is, that it was dug by a giant to win a king's daughter.

Half an hour's walk from Yenì Shehèr, and about midway between that place and Khandek Tepeh, are to be found the remains of ancient substructions, formed of hewn stones, and of doubtful origin. From this spot some level but raised table-land extends eastwards to the left bank of the Scamander, on the extremity of which, near the river, lie some blocks of hard unhewn sandstone, in a semicircle, with the appearance of having belonged to some very old fortification: some of these stones are six feet long. The cultivated emi-

nence lying above the flood-mark is doubtless the Thromos (*Θρομὸς πεδίοιο*), where Hector encamped at night, when intending to attack the intrenchments of the Achaians early on the following morning. Not far hence there is a ford through the Scamander,—a fact which considerably strengthens this hypothesis.

The lower plain from Throsmos to the mounds[106] of Achilles and Antilochus is the battle-field mentioned in the eleventh (*Λ*), the first half of the seventeenth (*P*), and twenty-first (*Φ*) Rhapsodies. Earlier travellers have imagined they saw the remains of an Hellenic bridge on the bank of the Scamander, not far from the ford just mentioned, of which, however, in the present day, no traces exist. Nevertheless, Strabo's statement,[107] that the mouth of the Scamander was twenty stadia from New Ilium, coincides with the distance of this point from Hissarlik; and the bridge, it is clear, lay on the road from New Ilium to Sigeium: in addition to which, taking Atchik Keui to be the ancient city, the ford so often mentioned by Homer ought to be exactly at the spot where we in reality find it.

In the plain, not far distant from Throsmos, but on the right bank of the Scamander, and in the direction of New Ilium, lay the tumulus of Ilus, shaded by venerable oaks, even in Pliny's time. Thence the

[106] *Vide* note 99, p. 167.

[107] Strabo, xiii. 25, p. 862, Ox. ed.
πλησίον δὲ καὶ ὁ Σκάμανδρος ἐκδίδωσι, διέχων τοῦ Ἰλίου σταδίους εἴκοσιν.

xiii. 20, p. 861, Ox. ed.
ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου μικρὸν ἡ τῶν Ἰλιέων κώμη ἐστὶν, ἐν ᾗ νομίζεται τὸ παλαιὸν Ἴλιον ἱδρύσθαι πρότερον, τριάκοντα σταδίους διέχον ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως, from which it is evident that the Homeric Troy is alluded to in the first section as *Ἴλιον*.

road led onwards from the Achaian camp, past the city of Priam; but inasmuch as no traces of it remain in the present day, it may be fairly inferred that the frequent overflowings of the Scamander, which have, doubtless, become more considerable since the number of inhabitants on the plain has diminished, have caused it to sink until it has become undiscernible.

A most important question still remains to be determined, namely, the position of the ships of the Achaians. On this point the ancients also were at issue; three different opinions prevailing on the subject. Strabo decides in favour of the strand near Sigeium, called Naustathmos;[108] others, for that called the Haven of the Achaians, situated in the innermost part of the bay between Sigeium and Rhœteium; but the third opinion, the most un-Homeric and untenable of all, supposes the fleet to have occupied the whole of the great bay between the two promontories; so that the ships of Achilles and Ajax lay, according to Homer,

[108] Strabo, XIII. i. p. 862, l. 14, Ox. ed.

Καὶ μὲν τό γε Ναύσταθμον τὸ νῦν ἔτι λεγόμενον πλησίον οὕτως ἐστὶ τῆς νῦν πόλεως, ὥστε θαυμάζειν εἰκότως ἄν τινα, τῶν μὲν τῆς ἀπονοίας, τῶν δὲ τοὐναντίον τῆς ἀψυχίας· ἀπονοίας μέν, εἰ εἰς τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἀτείχιστον αὐτὸ εἶχον, πλησίον οὔσης τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τοσούτου πλήθους· τοῦ τ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τοῦ ἐπικουρικοῦ (νεωστὶ γὰρ γεγονέναι φησὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἢ οὐδ' ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ πλάσας ποιητὴς ἠφάνισεν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν·) ἀψυχίας δὲ, εἰ, γενομένου τοῦ τείχους, ἐτειχομάχουν, ὡς εἰσέπεσον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ναύσταθμον, καὶ προσεμάχοντο ταῖς ναυσίν· ἀτείχιστον δὲ ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐθάῤῥουν προσιόντες πολιορχεῖν, μικροῦ τοῦ διαστήματος ὄντος ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ ναύσταθμον πρὸς Σιγείῳ· πλησίον δὲ καὶ ὁ Σκάμανδρος ἐκδίδωσι, διέχων τοῦ Ἰλίου σταδίους εἴκοσιν. Εἰ δὲ φήσει τις, τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα εἶναι τὸ ναύσταθμον, ἐγγυτέρω τινὰ λέξει τόπον, ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίους διεστῶτα τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, πεδίον νῦν προστιθεὶς, δίοτι τοῦτο πᾶν πρόχωμα τῶν ποταμῶν ἐστὶ, τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίον· ὥστε, εἰ δωδεκαστάδιον ἐστὶ νὺν τὸ μεταξὺ, τότε καὶ τῷ ἡμίσει ἔλαττον ὑπῆρχε.

at the two extremities of the bay, near Sigeium and Rhœteium respectively, where the two mounds of these heroes are, moreover, to be found.

On reference to Homer, it will be found[109] that the space occupied by the ships was so small that they were forced to haul them up in tiers, one behind the other; whereas the distance between the two mounds, measured in a direct line, is at least equal to an hour's journey. Again, the Simois, combined with the Scamander, would have flowed through the middle of the camp, which must consequently have been rendered untenable in winter by the marshes and the frequent overflowings of the Scamander. It is true that these marshes were probably, in the time of the Trojan war, not above half the extent of those at the present day; nevertheless, that portion of the plain, however small its extent, was, doubtless, always exposed to the occurrence of winter floods, as a passage already cited from Homer testifies.

A remnant of the "Haven of the Achaians" appears to have been preserved in Karanlük Limàn, near Rhœteium, in spite of the continual advance of the strand of the bay into the Hellespont, at the point where the Simois now discharges itself. We know from the testimony of Xenophon,[110] that

[109] Il. xiv. 30.

Πολλὸν γὰρ ἀπάνευθε μάχης εἰρύατο νῆες
Θῖν' ἐφ' ἁλὸς πολιῆς· τὰς γὰρ πρώτας πεδίονδε
Εἵρυσαν, αὐτὰρ τεῖχος ἐπὶ πρύμνῃσιν ἔδειμαν.
Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ', εὐρύς περ ἐὼν, ἐδυνήσατο πάσας
Αἰγιαλὸς νῆας χαδέειν· στείνοντο δὲ λαοί.

[110] Hell. i. 1, 2.

μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων, Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐν Ῥόδου ἐς Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσεπλεῖ, ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος, τέτταρσι καὶ δέκα νανσὶν, ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ.

there was a good anchorage there; and, to conclude from the account of Sozomen, this was also the case in the Byzantine age; since which time, however, it has become thoroughly choked by sand.

Lastly, Homer's description precludes the possibility of the Achaian camp having been in this position; for in marching against the city from the camp the Simois must have most certainly been crossed, but not the Scamander, as Homer distinctly states to have been the case. Homer, although he frequently makes mention of harbours with reference to other places, carefully avoids applying the term λιμὴν to the position of the Achaian ships; but, on the contrary, uses the expressions ἠϊὼν, ἀκτὴ, αἰγιαλὸς, θὶς, ῥηγμὶν, *shore, coast, strand, margin, beach.* Moreover, the grave of Patroclus, as well as that of Achilles, must, according to Homer's account of Patroclus's burial, be looked for near the camp and the ships. The high strand on which the ships lay in tiers, hauled up one behind the other for want of room,—the sand, and the downs near the surge of the sea,—nay, the whole Iliad, requires that the camp of the Achaians should be situated on the left bank of the Scamander; and consequently Strabo's view is the only correct one. Good holding ground is found under Pasha Tepeh, and along the whole extent of that shore, at the present time.

The position of the village Yenì Shehèr—often corrupted by the modern Greeks into Ἰανίτζαρι—sufficiently proves a fact, which, indeed, is generally admitted, namely, that the promontory and town of Sigeium were situated here. Indeed, it is but a few years ago that old foundations were discovered here: these have, however, been since partially used in the

construction of the modern buildings of the "new city," and partly built over.

CHIEF PLACES MENTIONED IN THIS EXCURSUS NOTED IN THE MAP.

Achaion or Agamia (Paleôcastro).
Achillaion.
Æolian Ilium.
Ajax's tomb.
Alexandrian Troy.
Antilochus's tomb.
Æsyetes' tomb.
Atchik Keui.
Baalik.
Bairamtash.
Batakia.
Batieia (Myrina).
Beshik Tepeh.
Beshika Bay.
Bounàrbashi.
Cebrenia.
Chiblak (Halilana).
Dümbrek.
Erineos.
Halilana.
Harbour of the Greeks.
Hissarlik.
Judáen.
Kalafatlee.
Kallicolone.
Kara Dagh.
Kaz Dagh.
Kara Ghiun (Kallicolone).
Karanlük Limàn.
Kemar Chaï.
Kesik Tepeh.
Kirk Ghiuz.
Kum Kalèh.
Mal Tepeh.
Menderèh.
Naustathmos.
Pasha Tepeh.
Polion (Poliania).
Rhœteium.
Scamander.
Scamandria.
Scæan Gate.
Sigeium.
Simois.
Stomalimne.
Strabo's Ilium.
Throsmos.
Troy, according to Strabo and Ulrichs.
Thymbria.
Ujek Tepeh.
Yenì Keui; Yenì Shehèr.

X.—ON THE ORIGIN OF THE FLORAL ORNAMENTS, THE IONIC VOLUTE, AND THE WAVE-LINE, OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS.

BY JOHN HOGG, ESQ., M.A., F.R.S., M.R.S.L., &c.

(Read Nov. 28th, 1844.)

The principal Museum of Antiquities in Sicily is that which was formed by the celebrated Prince of Biscari, at Catania: among the painted fictile vases there preserved, I noticed one of very good Grecian, or rather, perhaps, of Græco-Sicilian workmanship; and as it tends to throw further light upon the late Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke's view of the *Origin* of the Ionic *Volute*, and also upon *other* interesting *subjects* of Archæology, I purpose making a few observations upon it.

That very eminent traveller, in his Preface[1] to the Third Section of Part the Second of 'Travels in various Countries,' well remarks, that "the *origin* not only of the *Ionic Volute* in architecture, but of the *symbol* denoting *water*, as it has been figured by Grecian sculptors in their marble friezes and cornices, and upon ancient medals and gems, and was used for borders to their pictured vases, appears, from an entire series of designs upon the terra-cottas found by Mr. Graham, to have been derived from a superstitious veneration shown to a certain *aquatic plant*, as yet

[1] Page vi. edit. 4to. London, 1816.

unknown; but which will not long escape the notice of botanists to whom the plants of Greece shall become familiar. It is represented under such a variety of circumstances, and with so many remarkable associations, that no doubt can remain as to the fact."

Dr. Clarke has given, in addition to several diagrams illustrating his subject, a vignette at the beginning of that Preface, which represents, from a painting upon a Greek fictile vase, a winged Genius fostering the plant in question; and likewise a second vignette attached to the end of the Preface, wherein is figured, from another painted Greek vase, a winged Genius bearing in her right hand the same volute, or tendriled branch of the same plant.

Upon the Greek vase of terra-cotta before alluded to, and contained in the Biscari Museum, I was struck with a well-executed painting representing a winged Genius, whose left hand holds a jug, while the right hand is in the act of pouring some water from a cup, upon the identical *plant*, which is terminated by its flower. I sketched on the spot an outline of the painting from that vase, a copy of which has been made at fig. 1 of the accompanying Plate. This very interesting plant, it will be seen, is furnished with volute-shaped tendrils, or *cirri;* and as it is of such frequent occurrence in the elegant sculpture and painting of Grecian antiquity, it became to me for some time a subject of much curiosity in investigating its identity with some species of plant, which is still found growing wild in Greece and in Sicily; although, I by no means agree with that learned author in considering it to be an "*aquatic* plant:" on the contrary, since the Genius is actually watering it, this will prove that it *cannot be a water-plant*—for such an act would in

that case be superfluous, and indeed perfectly useless. Moreover, on an ancient fictile vase engraven at fig. 2, in table ix., of Maffei's 'Museum Veronense,' the *same* plant is delineated growing directly upon a bank, or dry ground, without any water near it, and without the waved line, or symbol signifying water, being present. This is copied in outline at fig. 2, in the Plate; and so it entirely confirms my opinion of its *not* being an *aquatic* plant.

Now the species to which, after much consideration, I am led to refer the figures represented in Dr. E. D. Clarke's vignettes, as well as that from the Biscari vase, is the *Tendriled Clematis*, or Clematis cirrosa of Linnæus, which is indigenous in Sicily,[2] and likewise around Athens according to Dr. Sibthorp. It is beautifully drawn and coloured in Sibthorp's 'Flora Græca,' vol. vi. tab. 517; and where, at p. 14, its ancient Greek name is considered to be the *Κληματῖτις* of Dioscorides, (lib. iv. cap. 182,) and Dr. Billerbeck[3] assigns to it the *'Ατραγένη* of Theophrastus, (lib. v. cap. 10.)

The former appellation is derived from *Κλῆμα*—a branch or shoot of the vine—because in its climbing mode of growth, it particularly resembles the vine; indeed it is in other respects very like the latter plant, namely, in its tendrils, in the brown colour of its rampant stem, in its long shoots, &c. Our English species of Clematis has always been called Vitalba, *i.e.* the *White-Vine*, from its similarity to the *Vine*,[4] and

[2] See the Author's 'Observations on the Classical Plants of Sicily,' p. 4, and also his 'Catalogue of Sicilian Plants,' p. 25.

[3] Flora Classica, p. 143.

[4] Another species of Clematis, found in the South of Europe, is named Viticella by Linnæus, and other botanists, for the same reason.

from its *white* flowers: it also grows in Sicily,[5] as well as copiously in Greece.[6] Dr. Sibthorp refers to it the *Ἄμπελος ἀγρία* of Dioscorides, (lib. iv. cap. 183,) and he adds, that it is at this day called *Ἀγριοαμπέλι*. But the *Wild Vine*,—Vitis vinifera, *var.* sylvestris, is, without doubt, the *Ἄμπελος ἀγρία* of Dioscorides, (lib. v. cap. 2,) and also of Theophrastus, and according to Sibthorp[7] it is still named in modern Greece *Κλῆμα ἢ Ἀγριάμπελος*—a plant likewise common in that country[8] and in Sicily. Thus, there is good reason for supposing that, as the names of the Clematis appear to have been confounded with those of the *Wild Vine* (Vitis sylvestris), not only when Dr. Sibthorp visited Greece, but also very probably in the ancient days of Dioscorides, so these plants themselves have been, on account of their general resemblances, sometimes mistaken,—in the spring before the Clematis blossoms, and the wild vine puts forth its grapes—the one for the other.

The vine, being of all trees or plants,—except perhaps the olive[9]—with which the ancient Greeks were acquainted, the most esteemed, and itself a *holy* plant, and sacred to Dionysus or Bacchus, occupied a favoured and chosen place in many of the Grecian rites: and, indeed, the festival of the Oschophoria (*ὀσχοφόρια*)—or

[5] Hogg's Catal. of Sicil. Plants, p. 47.

[6] *Vide* Sibthorp, Prodrom. Floræ Græcæ, vol. i. p. 377.

[7] Sibth. Flora Græca, vol. iii. p. 37.

[8] The word *Κλῆμα* is now used in Zante, according to Sibthorp, for some variety of the cultivated grape-vine, as *τὸ Κλῆμα τοῦ Βόσον*, the *vine* of the family of Bozo.—Walpole's 'Memoirs relating to Turkey,' p. 294, London, 1817.

[9] The olive is called by Euripides, Minerva's sacred *image*,—*Παλλάδος ἀγνὸν ἄγαλμα*. So the vine may be as correctly termed, *Διονύσου ἀγνὸν ἄγαλμα*.

the carrying bunches of grapes supported on branches of the vine—was annually celebrated at Athens with great pomp; and a sacrifice accompanied with singing, dancing, and racing, took place during the religious ceremonies of that holy day. Hence, then, the *Tendriled Clematis* being so remarkably similar to the *Wild Vine*, and occasionally (at certain seasons) even confounded with it, I am induced to consider that the former plant was always accounted by the ancient Greeks, and most probably by the Græco-Sicilians also, as *emblematic* of the *Sacred* Vine.

Another painting upon a Greek fictile vase, figured in No. 11. of the Plate at p. 138 of Mazochi's learned work,[10] represents a winged female, draped, in a standing position, and holding out both her hands, in which are boughs of the *same plant* with its tendrils. The word ΝΙΚΟΝ is inscribed on it below, and ΚΛΑΟΣ is written above, the branch in her right hand.

The first word is here evidently intended for ΝΙΚΩΝ, though the latter, I imagine to be an error[11] for ΚΛΑΔΟΣ, 'a bough,' and which together would mean *a*

[10] Mazochii Comment. in Æn. Tab. Heracl. p. 138.

[11] Mistakes in names on fictile vases are of frequent occurrence, through the ignorance or negligence of the artists and writers. For instance, I have noticed on some εποεσε, and on others εποιεσε, for ἐποίησε. I must here make a remark on the observation of Mr. Millingen (p. 79, vol. ii. Trans. Royal Soc. Lit.), that the *distinction* between ἔγραψε and ἐποίησε had *not previously* been *observed*. If this may not be considered to have been long ago done in p. 2, note 9, vol. i. 'Antichità di Ercolano,' published in 1757, with sufficient clearness, the note by Mr. Walpole (at p. 323, 'Turkey,' London, 1817) has surely pointed out that distinction in a satisfactory manner; for there it cannot be otherwise understood than that ἐποίησε refers to the actual manufacture by the *potter*, and ἔγραψε to the work of the *painter*. And I may perhaps add, that the import of the

victorious bough. Hence, the painting most probably signifies the goddess *Victory* presenting with each hand a bough of the *Tendriled Clematis* for a garland, or prize, to the victor of a game celebrated at some of the Athenian festivals,—perhaps at the Oschophoria, or at one of the Dionysia. And Pliny having recorded (Nat. Hist. lib. xxi. cap. 2) that *crowns* made of the *boughs* of trees were at first used in the *sacred* contests,—"arborum enim *ramis coronari* in *sacris* certaminibus, mos erat *primum;*"—this passage very strongly corroborates my supposition.

Again, Dr. E. D. Clarke has correctly affirmed, "that in the painting and sculpture of the ancient Grecians, exhibited on their sepulchral vases, and gems, and medals, and sacred buildings, and whatsoever else had any reference to their religion, nothing was represented that ought to be considered merely as a fanciful decoration. The ornament, in itself, was strictly historical; it consisted of *symbols*, which were severally so many records of their faith and worship. Like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, they were the signs of a language perhaps known only to the priests; but it was circumscribed by the most rigid canons: and, while the matchless beauty of the workmanship demanded admiration, the sanctity of the *symbolical representation* excited reverence." [12]

And that admirable Grecian archæologist and traveller, the late Chevalier P. O. Bröndsted, writing of *holy flowers*, confirms the preceding observations in

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latter word is more thoroughly collected from this line of Theocritus, Idyl. 15, v. 81:

Ποῖοι ζωογράφοι τἀκριβέα γράμματ' ἔγραψαν.

[12] 'Travels in Various Countries,' 3rd Sect. Part II. Pref. p. viii.

these words: "The plants and flowers frequently appearing on Greek vases, especially on those destined for sacred uses, are *not merely ornamental*, but always connected with some *religious* or *traditional* ideas." [13]

Consequently, it must, I think, without any doubt be allowed, that the representation of the *Tendriled Clematis* on the vases and other antique remains of the Greeks was symbolical of the *cultivated*, or *Sacred*, *Vine*—the *Ἄμπελος οἰνοφόρος* of Dioscorides (lib. v. cap. 1), and Vitis vinifera of Linnæus.

The vine, however, is itself often delineated on fictile vases—but chiefly its leaves, grapes, and tendrils; though, as its flowers are so small and insignificant, the Greek artists were compelled to seek for some climbing shrub with a larger and more beautiful flower, which might be as much as possible in all other respects resembling, and therefore typical of, that venerated, most useful, and most fruitful plant—whenever they had occasion for some *floral ornament* on their sacred vessels, temples, &c. And as the Ivy, in many points very like it, was still liable to the same objection, the *Clematis*, which closely resembles the *Vine*—especially the *wild* variety—naturally became selected for that purpose, by reason of its bearing, in great profusion, extremely handsome and large flowers.

So, likewise, the *common Honeysuckle* (Lonicera periclymenum, Linn.)—a shrub equally indigenous in Greece[14]—was brought for the same cause into frequent use by the Greek painters and sculptors.

[13] See Bröndsted's 'Brief Description of Greek Painted (late Campanari's) Vases,' note 1. p. 3.

[14] *Vide* Sibthorp, Prod. Flor. Græc. vol. i. p. 148, and 'Botanique

Figs. 3 and 4 of the Plate present the *Honeysuckle* antique ornament in its flower-bud state, or previous to the opening of the tubular corolla: and fig. 5 shows the same plant in blossom, *i. e.* having the segments of some of the corolla expanded. They, as it will be at once perceived, are perfectly distinct from those ancient ornaments which have been derived from the *Clematis*. See figs. 6 to 17, both inclusive, of the same Plate.

Figs. 18 and 19 give two flowers of the *Clematis cirrosa*, with their bracteæ at *b* and *c*, taken from tab. 517 of Sibthorp's 'Flora Græca;' also figs. 20, 21, and 24, are copied from the same beautiful engraving. The two former represent the flower deprived of its petals—"flos abreptis petalis;" and the third, fig. *d*, "fructus vix maturus," or the unripe seeds with their long feathery awns, but without the two bracteæ. Now, by comparing the ancient Greek painted flowers copied at *e* and *f*, of fig. 6, and the flowers *h* and *i*, of fig. 8, from an antique marble of Greek sculpture, with the flowers fig. 18, and fig. 19, we shall at once pronounce the former to be intended for representations of the latter, or the flowers of the *Tendriled Clematis*. I have, however, slightly altered the flowers *f* and *i*, in order to show their nearer and more exact resemblance to the natural flower when perfect; that is to say—bearing its petals and bracteæ.

Again, the flowers marked *l*, *m*, in fig. 11, and *n*, *o*, in fig. 15, are evidently intended for the same Clematis, although they are drawn with the petals a little too *narrow*,—a circumstance, however, of no great mo-

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de l'Expéd. Scien. de Morée,' par MM. Bory et Chaubard, tom. iii. Part II. p. 72.

ment, because the ancient Greek artists could not be expected to have always copied nature with such extreme accuracy.

Fig. 13 is doubtless meant for the Clematis, but which is better and more naturally expressed at fig. 16, where the tendril, leaves, and pendulous [15] flowers are delicately, though minutely, delineated. I may observe, that the leaves of the *Clematis cirrosa* are notched and simple,—not compound,—or described botanically thus, "foliis simplicibus fasciculatis cordatis (seu ovato-subcordatis) crenatis"—to which the leaves in fig. 2 present, upon the whole, a fair resemblance; but, as in nature the leaves of that species are apt to vary, so they are frequently expressed in antiques under somewhat different forms.

Next, the flower in the drawing from the Biscari fictile vase at fig. 1 has been, I conceive, originally derived from the flower of the same plant,—only *without* its flower-leaves, or petals, as represented at *a*, and *a*2, in figs. 20 and 21, from Sibthorp's 'Flora,' and which I have, by more correctly drawing the details, given at A, fig. 22, in order to explain how the flower upon that vase has been taken from nature, and how, with a very slight variation, it has originated from the apetalous state of the flower of the same Clematis. Also, the ornament A2 (fig. 23), I have added, to show that, as I imagine, it has been derived from the last figure A, by merely separating the upper parts of it into three divisions, omitting the exact details of the filaments, anthers, and stigmas, which

[15] The flowers of the Clematis being *pendulous* (see figs. 18 and 19), if those represented in figs. 6, 8, 11, 13, 15, were reversed, they would be more true to nature. The antique flowers at fig. 16 are in this respect quite correct.

the Grecian painters and sculptors would necessarily, from their minuteness, be obliged to do, and leaving the two bracteæ in their natural position.

The same ornament occurs at *p* in fig. 9, and at *s* in fig. 14: the first of these is a little varied from fig. 23, since, in addition to the two natural bracteæ, the sculptor has added *two* other *imaginary* bracteæ at *q*, which have their margins scolloped; and the second ornament at *s*, in the latter figure, is likewise somewhat *ideal:* I have, however, in both these figures, at *r* and *t*, drawn each of that portion of the ornaments more according to nature, and after my figure 22.

Another ornament equally common with the last, or indeed more so, which I may call for the sake of distinction the *Antefixa* ornament—being very frequently used by the ancient Greeks for the front of their buildings—and which is so represented at *u*, in fig. 12, is likewise derived, as I apprehend, from the same Clematis when in a state of fructification,—namely, from the seeds with their long and feathery permanent styles, or awns, the natural form and appearance of which are copied at *d*, fig. 24, from the plate in Sibthorp's 'Flora Græca.' This somewhat fan-like ornament, as it appears to me, has been formed by the Greek artists in the manner I have endeavoured to show at D, in fig. 25, where, instead of representing the delicate feather-like structure of the awns at *v v*, which they would have found extreme difficulty in doing, they have simply enclosed the awns within lines, in the manner I have imagined at *w*, as is proved by reference to *x*, in fig. 8, and in fig. 10, taken from ancient pieces of Greek sculpture.

In these two latter figures, at *k* and *u*, I have, for the sake of making them more distinct, filled up some

of the sculptured awns with the natural and feathery lines. So also at *y*, in fig. 9, and at *g*, in fig. 6; although in many figures of the same Antefixa ornament the central line,—*i. e.* the line of the awn itself, as given at *x*, in figs. 8 and 10—is entirely omitted, for which see *z*, in figs. 6 and 9, also the central ornament in figs. 7, 11, 12, 14, and 15. Not unfrequently the Antefixa figure represents the *Honeysuckle*, as in fig. 4; and sometimes it is of a mixed and imaginary form, partly resembling that flower, and partly like the spreading awns of the seeds of the Clematis.

It will be observed, in all the accompanying figures copied from Antiques, that the tendrils of the *Clematis cirrosa* add very materially to the beauty of the ancient floral ornaments; and I may mention, that the *tendrils* of that plant, from being stronger, stiffer, and shorter than those of the Vitis, are much more likely to have been the *origin* of the Ionic *Volute* than the tendrils of the Vine.

Thus we may fairly conclude, that at first the *Clematis cirrosa*, as *typical* of the Sacred Vine, from its tendril, flower, and fruit, or seed, with its long and spreading awns, gave rise to the Ionic Volute, to the flower, and to the Antefixa ornament so commonly represented, not only in the most ancient paintings on the fictile vases, but also in the architectural paintings, and in the sculptures of the Greeks; and that afterwards the *Honeysuckle*, as well as several species with elegant flowers, which naturally climb and possess tendrils—still continued as *types* of the *climbing Vine*—were adopted by the Grecian artists; and indeed, at a later period of their arts, the early and more accurate representations of particular plants became neglected, and were so altered as often to assume a fictitious, or

mixed form; and finally, in many cases, an Arabesque-like style of floral ornament came into very general use.

Again,—as to the "*symbol* denoting *water*," which resembles the Ionic *Volute*, and is mentioned by Dr. E. D. Clarke; I have noticed it in only two pictures from fictile vases,[16] though I find that Archæologists do not all agree on the *interpretation* of it. No doubt, however, can be entertained, that this symbol has been originally taken from the figure, or *curling, of a wave* of the sea, and thence, that this *wave-line*, as it may be properly termed, has been used to signify *water* generally: in fact, this is clearly apparent from many ancient coins, gems, and other antiques. Of these, I have selected one ancient device at fig. 26, which will fully prove my statement. This is copied from a gem representing Leda and the Swan; where the volute-like line is placed under the swan,[17] showing that the *line itself* is intended to signify *water* wherein the bird is in the *act of swimming* away with his fair prize; also, a second similar, but less perfect, line is

[16] I do not here mean on the borders of vases, where it is a very common ornament, but where that *symbol* constitutes a part of the painting, and evidently signifies a piece of water, or the sea.

[17] Nearly the same device may be seen upon the reverse of a beautiful coin of the ancient Camarina, originally a colony from Syracuse, on the south coast of Sicily; and around the head of the river god Hipparis (now the *Fiume di Camarana*) on the front, the wave-line is introduced as a border. See the Prince of Torremuzza's (*Castelli*) 'Siciliæ populorum et urbium veteres Nummi,' Panorm. 1781, tab. 18, No. 3; and this coin is admirably engraven in Plate 4 of Dr. Noehden's 'Specimens of Ancient Coins of Magna Græcia and Sicily.' Also the reverse of another very rare silver coin of Camarina, figured No. 4 in Torremuzza's tab. 18, represents the swan standing upon the wave-line (denoting the *surface of water*), and below is a fish swimming.

Fig. 7, "part of the capital of a pilaster," p. 109, and engraved fig. 3, plate 35, vol. iii. Stuart's 'Athens.'

Fig. 8, marble fragment from Delphi, plate 2, vol. iv. Stuart's 'Athens,' edit. Cockerell, Kinnard, &c. Lond. 1830. The portions at *i* and *k* are somewhat altered.

Fig. 9, ornament from the cornice of the pediment of the Doric Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassæ in Arcadia, plate 4, *ibid.* The figure *r*, and the part at *y*, I have filled up with the details of the filaments, anthers, stigmas, and feather-like awns, of the *Tendriled Clematis.*

Fig. 10 is copied from part of fig. 3, tab. 34, vol. iv. of 'Le Antichità della Sicilia,' per D. Lo Faso Pietrasanta, Duca di Serradifalco, Palermo, 1840, where, (at p. 164,) the Duke calls it "un' Antefissa di pietra." It is a fragment of architecture found among the remains of Acræ, in the south of Sicily. The portion marked *u* is altered in the same way as at *k*, in fig. 8, and at *y*, in fig. 9.

Fig. 11, from a vase, plate 113, vol. ii. of D'Hancarville's 'Hamilton's Vases.'

Fig. 12, from a vase, plate 55, vol. i. *ibid.* This is an Antefixa ornament upon the top of the portico of a temple-like edifice.

Fig. 13, from a vase, engraved plate 37, vol. ii. *ibid.*

Fig. 14, taken from the capital of an Ionic column of the portico of the Temple of Minerva Polias at Athens, fig. 1, plate 25, vol. ii. Stuart's 'Athens,' edit. 1825. The ornament (*t*) I have altered, like that (*r*) in fig. 9.

Fig. 15, from fig. 3, plate 12, described (p. 34) as an "ancient ornament which is *painted* on the upper fascia of the architrave of the Pronaos of the Ionic temple on the Ilissus," at Athens, vol. i. *ibid.*

Fig. 16, copied from a vase, plate 88, vol. i. D'Hancarville's 'Hamilton's Vases.'

Fig. 17, a single ornament selected from the right-hand corner of the exquisitely sculptured frieze in white marble, from the Temple of Erechtheus at Athens, now numbered 253, but formerly No. 128, in the Elgin Room, British Museum.

Figs. 18, 19, two perfect flowers of the *Tendriled Clematis* (C. cirrosa), with their bracteæ, *b* and *c*, from Sibthorp's 'Flora Græca,' tab. 517, vol. vi.

Figs. 20, 21, two apetalous flowers of the same plant, from the same engraving.

Fig. 22, the same as the last, only a little varied.

Fig. 23, the same in outline; being divided into three parts, it shows the probable origin of the antique ornaments *p*, in fig. 9, and *s*, in fig. 14.

Fig. 24, the immature fruit or seed, and feathery awns, of the *Tendriled Clematis*, copied from part of fig. *d*, in tab. 517 of the 'Flora Græca.'

Fig. 25, the same, somewhat altered, exhibiting the supposed origin of the fan-like ornaments in the ancient figs. 6 to 15, both inclusive. Fig. 10 most closely resembles this fig. 25.

Fig. 26, antique gem, representing Leda and the Swan, from No. 1187, vol. i. of Raspe's 'Catalogue of Tassie's Gems.'

XI. — ON A GREEK INSCRIPTION DISCOVERED AT THE BATHS, AND ON THE TEMPLE, OF SEGESTA.

BY JOHN HOGG, ESQ., M.A., F.R.S., M.R.S.L., &c.

(Read June 12th, 1845.)

On visiting the small Museum of the splendid Monastery of St. Martin, near Palermo, I observed the following Greek inscription, which struck me as being highly interesting, both on account of the square form of the Ρ, and of the place where it was discovered.

NO. 1.

ΑΓΩΤΗΡΙΔ
ΙΑΓΧΑΡΙΝ

The letters are of a very large size, and are regularly and deeply cut in a block of sandstone. It was found near the remains of baths belonging to the *Thermæ*, or hot springs, on the supposed site of the ancient Aquæ Segestanæ, called by Diodorus Siculus[1] τὰ Λουτρὰ Ἐγεσταῖα, and which are distant a few miles to the south-west of the present town of Alcamo, in the Valle di Trapani.

This inscription, as I have lately ascertained, was first made known in a letter, dated St. Martin, 10th

[1] Lib. iv. cap. 23.

June, 1756, by D. Salvadore Maria di Blasi, at that time librarian and keeper of the museum of the monastery; and since this transcript presents an important variation from my own, I here insert it, together with two portions of that letter which relate to its interpretation.

NO. II.

ΔΑΣΩΤΗΡΙΔ
ΔΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

"Supplendo nel principio della linea la lettera Δ, sembra, che si possa tradurre: *in gratiam propriæ salutis;* onde di primo lancio crederassi da taluno un' Iscrizione votiva fatta scolpire da qualche infermo dopo di aver ricevuto la sanità."—"'O creduto dovermi appigliare ad un' altra spiegazione, la quale deggio credere, che sarammi da Voi approvata. Vi è già noto, che non molto lungi dalla Campagna di Cinisi esiste un fonte d'acqua sulfurea, detto oggi *il Gorgo* creduto dal Fazello,[2] e dal Cluverio[3] il luogo appunto degli antichi bagni di Segesta cotanto celebrati dal nostro Diodoro,[4] e da Strabone.[5] Or posto ciò io porto ferma opinione, che questo lastrone fosse posto sopra la gran porta, che ne' secoli antichi chiudea que' bagni; e così spiegherei la Greca Iscrizione: *Valetudinarium* in gratiam Salutis propriæ."[6]

[2] Dec. 1, lib. vii. caps. 3 and 4.

[3] Sicilia Antiqua, lib. ii. cap. 2, f. 262 and 263.

[4] Diodorus Siculus, lib. iv.

[5] Strabo, lib. vi.

[6] *Vide* 'Memorie per servire alla Storia Letteraria di Sicilia,' tom. i. Part vi. pp. 44-46, Palermo, 1756.—I have thought it advisable to give the passages in the original Italian from this work, because it is so scarce in England. The only copy I have been able to meet with is one which was obtained by the late Sir R. C. Hoare, Bart., when

These passages I translate thus:

"By supplying at the beginning of the (*first*) line the letter Δ, it appears that it may be translated, *for the sake of his own health;* from which, at first, some might think it a votive inscription, inscribed by some sick person after he had been restored to health.

"I have thought I ought to apply to it another explanation, of which I am disposed to believe you will approve. It is already known to you, that not very far from the *Campagna di Cinisi* (where the inscription was found) there is a spring of sulphureous water, called at this day *Il Gorgo*, and supposed by Fazello and Cluverius to be the exact place of the ancient baths of Segesta, which were so greatly celebrated by our Diodorus and by Strabo. On that supposition, then, I hold the firm opinion, that this stone was placed over the great door, which in ancient times enclosed these baths; and thus I would explain the Greek inscription: (*a Hospital*) *for the sake of Health itself.*"

Again, the same author, in a second letter of the 15th June, 1756, has made some further observations on his first interpretation of the inscription; and as I consider them necessary for the better understanding of his meaning, I add some extracts from it, with a translation.

"Non sò, se sarete rimasto persuaso della spiegazione da me rimessavi della Greca Iscrizione di Segesta; e dubito, che, se la farete leggere a qualcheduno, o la pubblicherete nelle vostre *Memorie* si ascriverà a mia poca accortezza l'aggiunta della lettera Δ sul principio

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he was in Sicily, and which he presented, in 1825, to the library of the British Museum.

della prima linea, e senza nulla supplirvi leggeranno le greche lettere *Ἀσωτηριδίας χάριν, in gratiam propriæ infirmitatis;* giacchè la lettera *Ἄλφα* per regola generale premessa a qualunque parola *est malignantis naturæ*, come suol dirsi. Qualora vi mandai quella mia spiegazione, avea anche io ciò pensato; ma riflettendo nel tempo stesso, che *Ἄσωτος* tutt' altro significa, che infermo, credetti di supplirvi quella preposizione Δια, per così formar giusta la spiegazione; e vieppiù mi confermai in questa mia opinione in veggendo, che l'ultima lettera Δ della prima linea esce fuori del fine della seconda, locchè non sembrandomi in una pubblica iscrizione, e scolpita ne' buoni secoli, fatto a caso, e senza ragione, credetti di aggiungere in principio l' altra lettera Δ, per così accomodare la simetria delle linee, e delle lettere. Mi direte, che qualche volta *Ἄσωτος* significa *infermo, desperato*, ed *incurabile;* io un solo esempio ne ò potuto ritrovare nel Dizionario dello *Scapola;* ma a dirvela schiettamente non so comprendere, nè mi posso inghiottire si facilmente, che in una iscrizione esposta in luogo pubblico serviti si fossero d' una parola assai rara, e bisognosa di spiegazione, e molto meno mi posso persuadere di questa stessa singolare interpretazione, perchè non la veggo accomodabile a' bagni antichi di Segesta."—" Queste ragioni mi ánno spinto ad appigliarmi a quella mia prima spiegazione; se però taluno poco di esse contento vorrà ad ogni costo farle dire *in gratiam propriæ infirmitatis*, a me nulla cale. Sempre verificherassi, che la mia Lapide fu fatta per i Bagni di Segesta, che era il principale mio scopo." [7]

[7] The second letter of D. Maria di Blasi is published at p. 55 of the work last referred to.

"I do not know if you continue to be persuaded of the explanation of the Greek inscription from Segesta which I sent to you; and I doubt whether, if you will let any one read it, or will publish it in your Memoirs, the addition of the letter Δ at the beginning of the first line will be ascribed to my very slight skill, and that the Greek letters will be read without any others being supplied—*Ἀσωτηριδίας χάριν, for the sake of infirmity itself*,—because the letter *Ἄλφα*, by the general rule, prefixed to any word is *of a malignant nature*, as they say. Since I sent to you my explanation, I have again thought of it; but reflecting, at the same time, that *Ἄσωτος* signifies any thing but infirm, I believed this preposition Δι*ὰ* should be supplied, in order to make a proper explanation; and I was the more confirmed in this my opinion, on seeing that the last letter of the first line, Δ, extends beyond the end of the second, which it appears to me would not be likely in a public inscription, and one inscribed in a good epoch, to have been done by chance, and without some reason; so I thought fit to add in the beginning the other letter Δ, for the purpose of completing the symmetry of the lines and letters. You will say, that sometimes *Ἄσωτος* signifies *one infirm, despaired of*, and *incurable;* I have only been able to find one single example of it in the Lexicon of Scapula; but, to speak candidly, I cannot comprehend, nor am I able to accept so readily, that in an inscription exposed in a public place, a word so rare and much in need of explanation would have been used; and much less am I able to persuade myself of this unusual interpretation, because I do not see how it can be suitable to the ancient baths of Segesta.

"These reasons have induced me to prefer my first

explanation; but if any person, being dissatisfied with it, will at all events render it *on account of infirmity*, it is of no consequence. It will always be certain that this stone was made for the baths of Segesta, and this indeed was my principal object."

The Prince of Torremuzza (G. L. Castello), in 1762, gave a similar copy of the inscription, at p. 24, No. xlviii., of his work entitled 'Le Antiche Iscrizioni di Palermo,' and at p. 261, he described it, and cited a great part of D. di Blasi's first letter; but he has not attempted any interpretation. The Prince, in his 'New Collection of the Ancient Inscriptions of Sicily,' published twenty-two years afterwards, again inserted it;[8] and he has merely referred the reader to his previous work, where it is treated of at large, although in an imperfect manner. These, as far as I have been able to discover, are the only two authors who have made mention of the present inscription.

From my own transcript of the inscription (No. I.) it would appear to be entire and complete; I therefore, at first, interpreted it, either 1st, *Ἀσωτηριδίας χάριν,—for the sake of Asoteridia;* or 2ndly, *Ἀσωτηρίας ἰδίας χάριν,—on account of his own ill-health.*

Here, my *first* interpretation supposes the stone tablet to have been erected by some person to his wife, or daughter, or a female relation, or friend. But, since the name *Asoteridia* must be accounted *nomen infaustum*, or an unlucky one, most probably being derived from *ἀσωτηρία*, *i.e.* from *ἀ non*, and *σωτηρία salus;* so *ἀσωτήριος* would signify *infaustus*, *insospitalis*, *insaluber*, &c.: I cannot think this interpretation ap-

[8] *Vide* p. 71, No. 8, Siciliæ Veterum Inscriptionum Nova Collectio, Panorm. 1784.

propriate or correct. Indeed, from ancient custom, we know that the Greeks never bore, or gave, an *unlucky* name: thus Plutarch expressly tells[9] us that the Greeks in ancient days received their names from *good* fortune, renown, &c., and gives, among other examples, the words εὐδαίμων and σωτὴρ. We may therefore justly conclude, that δυσδαίμων and ἀσωτὴρ, and their derivatives, were not in use.

The *second* translation which I had proposed, was on the supposition that some *invalid* had dedicated it as a votive tablet, after he had received a cure at the famous baths of Segesta: ἀσωτηριδίας may be considered as a *compound* word for ἀσωτηρίας ἰδίας, *of his own sickness*, or *ill-health:* but ἀσωτηρίας being a word *malæ naturæ*, or *inauspicious*, it is not likely to have been so used by the Greeks in any inscription; and indeed the same argument will apply to it as that which I have just advanced with reference to the names of individuals. I need now scarcely add, that I do not in the least rely on either of these interpretations; but I have here introduced them for the purpose of showing to those who might suggest them, that they are in reality untenable.

The copy of the inscription (No. II.) is the same as that which is published by D. di Blasi, and by the Prince of Torremuzza, and clearly proves the stone to be a *fragment*, or broken at the beginning. The marks ⌋ and ⌋ in the first and second lines, I thought were only pieces of a rectangular border, or ornament; but, on further consideration, I am satisfied that they are

[9] *Vide* Plutarch in Vit. M. C. Coriolani, cap. 11. See likewise 'On Proper Names in use among the Greeks,' chap. 66 of the Abbé Barthelemy's Travels of Anacharsis in Greece.

portions of *letters* which are wanting to render the inscription perfect.

My original transcript, from which No. I. is exactly copied, which I made at St. Martin's, does not include those broken letters, and I think it very probable that they may have been purposely chipped off the stone since the publication of the copy No. II., in order to prevent any future difficulty in the interpretation of it: had they been present on the stone, it is scarcely possible that I could have overlooked such important portions of the inscription.

It is to be remarked, that D. di Blasi only makes use of the broken letter in the *first* line, which he considers as I, and supplies before it the letter Δ, making the word ΔΙΑ, but of the ⊐ in the *second* line he takes no notice whatever: this surely is wrong, for he ought to have taken *both* as *letters*, or have passed over *both* as mere *ornaments*. Moreover, that learned person translates them,—διὰ—χάριν—"*in gratiam*,"—which is an incorrect, or at least an unusual, expression; and in his *second* explanation he has neither ventured to supply any Greek word for *a Hospital* (Valetudinarium), nor to suggest in what part of the inscription it should be inserted.

Wherefore, I apprehend, we must consider No. II. the most correct copy of the stone as it existed at the time of its discovery, a few years anterior to 1756; and that both the marks ⅃ and ⊐ upon it are, in fact, *original portions* of two or three *letters*: such being the case, I have attempted to restore the inscription as follows:

NO. III.

ΑΙΝΕ⅃ΑϹΩΤΗΡΙΔ
ΟϹΙΕ⅃ΙΑϹΧΑΡΙΝ

To Eneas, the Saviour, for the sake of Dosithia.[10]

The *place* where the stone was found is at the *baths* of Segesta, formerly situate within the territory of the Segestans, and not far distant from their ancient city, which was called *Αἴγεστα*, *Ἔγεστα*, or *Σεγέστα*, by the Greeks, and by the Romans Ægesta, Egesta, Acesta, Sagesta, or Segesta. It was one of the most ancient towns in Sicily, having been built nearly twelve centuries before the Christian era; indeed Cicero in his time termed it "*oppidum pervetus.*" As this illustrious writer spent some time in Sicily, and had been at Segesta, his subsequent account of the foundation of that city by the Trojan Eneas, is, without doubt, to be received as a historical fact;—"Segesta est oppidum pervetus in Siciliâ, quod ab Æneâ fugiente à Trojâ, atque in hæc loca veniente, conditum esse demonstrant."[11] I would remark, that Cicero says *demonstrant*,—not merely *aiunt*, or *dicunt*, denoting *report* alone,—but the Segestans *demonstrate*, *i. e.* prove by evidence, that Eneas was the founder of their city. And the principal evidence in proof of this statement existing at this day, is, that the reverses of several ancient and exquisite coins[12] of Segesta represent the figure of Eneas, either alone, or carrying his father and the Palladium away from Troy.

So Virgil relates,—

"Intereà Æneas urbem designat aratro,
Sortiturque domos: hoc, Ilium, et hæc loca, Trojam

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[10] This may be also *Disophia* ΔΙ[ΟΦ]ΙΑ, or the like name. The] being a portion of ⊟, *θ*, or of ⊞, *φ*. However, I do not hold this to be of much importance.

[11] In *Verrem*, Act. II. lib. iv. cap. 33.

[12] See figs. 2–7, tab. 64, of the Prince of Torremuzza's (Castello) 'Siciliæ Populorum et Urbium Veteres Nummi,' Panorm. 1781.

Esse jubet; gaudet regno Trojanus Acestes,
Indicitque forum, et patribus dat jura vocatis." [13]

And again,

"Urbem appellabunt permisso nomine *Acestam*."

I need not cite the testimony of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, of Pompeius Festus, and others, in corroboration; but will only observe, that the account which Thucydides[14] has left us is not inconsistent with the preceding: he records that *Egesta* was a city built by some Trojans who fled from the Greeks after Troy was taken, and sailed to Sicily; although he is silent as to the name of their leader, yet Eneas, being *τῶν Τρώων τὶς*, was most probably included in that expedition.

The magnificent Doric *temple*, called by the Sicilians 'il Tempio di Segesta,' which stands upon the top of a barren hill, marks the position of an ancient city; but, since so few vestiges of antiquity have been discovered near it, some may doubt whether this be the site of *Segesta*, or of some *other* city. That the former is the fact, I would show in this manner.

The celebrated hot springs of Segesta are still resorted to by invalids: they were named *τὰ θερμὰ Λουτρὰ Ἐγεσταῖα*, as Diodorus Siculus narrates, from the *place* itself[15]—viz. from *Ἔγεστα*; and Pliny, writing on *waters*, settles this point in the following passage,—"nec verò omnes, quæ sint *calidæ*, medicatas esse credendum, sicut *in Segestâ* Siciliæ." [16]

[13] *Vide* Æn. lib. v. 755.

[14] *Ἰλίου δὲ ἁλισκομένου, τῶν Τρώων τινές, διαφυγόντες Ἀχαιούς, πλοίοις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν· καὶ ὅμοροι τοῖς Σικανοῖς οἰκήσαντες, ξύμπαντες μὲν Ἔλυμοι ἐκλήθησαν, πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν Ἔρυξ τε καὶ Ἔγεστα.*—Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 2.

[15] Diod. Sic. lib. iv. cap. 23.

[16] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi. cap. 32.

An inscription cut on the basement[17] of the scena, and lately discovered in the ruins of the theatre upon *Monte Barbara*, a hill opposite to the temple, beginning with the words ΟΔΑΜΟΣΤΩΝΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΩΝ— tends to prove that this is the site of the ancient *Segesta*. And the figure of a man in *terra-cotta*, with a Phrygian cap, found there, exhibits the *Trojan* origin of the earliest Segestans.

Now, in order to demonstrate that this noble *temple* was dedicated to Eneas, I will make a few comments.

Travellers have asserted its dedication to different deities, by following some author, who has selected his favourite deity from one of the following: 1. Eneas, 2. Venus, 3. Esculapius, 4. Diana, or 5. Ceres, mentioned by the Prince of Biscari, who was long acknowledged as the principal authority on the antiquities of Sicily.

This writer says:[18] "We know that there were many temples in Segesta: one of them was built in memory

[17] The Duke of Serradifalco (D. Lo Faso Pietrasanta) describes it in his recent work 'Le Antichità della Sicilia,' as "fascia che coronava il basamento della scena" (p. 129). It is engraved at fig. 7, tab. xiv. vol. i.

[18] "Si sa molti Tempj essere stati in Segesta: ve ne fu uno innalzato in memoria di Enea, secondo il Fazello (lib. vii. cap. 4), sulla autorità di Dionisio (I. c. 53): 'Ægestani aliquot post annos Æneæ Templum in hac urbe, honoresque divinos voverunt, ut idem Dionysius refert.' Tucidide (lib. vi.) fa menzione del Tempio di Venere, ove i Segestani tenevano in salvo i loro tesori. Un frammento di Greca Iscrizione riferita dal Gualtieri al numero 323, ci mette in cognizione essere stato in Segesta il Tempio di Esculapio. Del Tempio di Diana chiara memoria ci lasciò Cicerone (in Verr. lib. iv. c. 33), il quale ci fa la descrizione della celebre Statua di bronzo di questa Dea; ivi dai Segestani venerata."—Viaggio per tutte le Antichità della Sicilia, da Ignazio Paterno (Principe di Biscari). Edit. 3, Palerm. 1817, p. 216.

of Eneas, according to Fazello, on the authority of Dionysius: 'Ægestani aliquot post annos Æneæ Templum in hac urbe, honoresque divinos voverunt, ut idem Dionysius refert.' Thucydides (lib. vi.) mentions a Temple of Venus, wherein the Segestans kept their treasure. A fragment of a Greek inscription, referred to by Gualtieri, No. 323, informs us that there was in Segesta a temple to Esculapius. Of the Temple of Diana, Cicero (in Verr. lib. iv. c. 33) has left us a distinct memorial, who also gives us a description of the celebrated bronze statue of this goddess, that was worshipped there by the Segestans."

First, with regard to Eneas. The passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, alluded to by Fazello, is so important, that I here cite the original. *Τεκμήρια δὲ τῆς εἰς Σικελοὺς Αἰνείου τε καὶ Τρώων ἀφίξεως πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, περιφανέστατα δὲ τῆς Αἰνειάδος Ἀφροδίτης ὁ βωμὸς ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ Ἔρυκος*[19] *ἱδρυμένος, καὶ ἱερὸν Αἰνείου ἱδρυμένον ἐν Αἰγέστῃ· τὸν μὲν, αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Αἰνείου τῇ μητρί· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν, τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ στόλου τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ σώσαντος σφᾶς ἀνάθημα ποιησαμένων.* (Lib. i. cap. 53.)

It may be thus translated:—"But there are many other marks of the coming of Eneas and the Trojans to Sicily: the most conspicuous are, the altar of the Eneian Venus placed upon the summit of Eryx, and the *Temple of Eneas placed in Segesta.* The altar was erected by Eneas himself to his mother; but the

[19] I adopt the Greek text of Cluverius, p. 261, Sicilia Antiqua, Lugd. Bat. 1619. Reiske, however, in his edition of Dionysius, Lips. 1774, retains Ἐλύμου in the text, but adds this in note (*a*) to p. 133, vol. i.—Ἔρυκος pro Ἐλύμου rescribi jubent Sylb. Port. et Cluver. in Sicil. Antiq. I apprehend Ἐλύμου is most likely an error of the transcribers for Ἔρυκος.

temple was made by those of the expedition who remained, as a dedication to the memory of him who had saved them."

Secondly. Thucydides in his sixth book does not make any mention of a Temple of *Venus* in Segesta; but in the forty-sixth chapter of that book he expressly says, that the *Temple of Venus*, in which was preserved the treasure, was in *Eryx*,—τὸ ἐν Ἔρυκι ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης.

Thirdly. The following fragment of an inscription found near the remains of the ancient theatre at Segesta, and given in p. 49, No. 323, of Gualther's Siciliæ Antiq. Tab., can in no manner lead to the belief that there existed a *temple* to *Esculapius* in Segesta, because, I maintain, the inscription does not relate to that deity:

ΑΣΚΛΑΠΟΣ . . .
ΕΠΠ . . .

and which I would restore,—

ΑΣΚΛΑΠΟΣ . . . . . ΕΠΟΗΣΕ . . . .

Asclapus, or *Asclepus* . . . . . *made* . . . . .

Or perhaps, as *Asclepus the son of* . . . . *eppus* . . . . some person whose name had ΕΠΠ . . . for a part of it. Had the inscription been dedicated to *Esculapius*, it would have been ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΩ.

Fourthly. Of a *temple* of *Diana* in Segesta, Cicero in his oration against Verres, Act. II. book iv. chap. 33, has left *no* memorial whatsoever: he there says, "fuit apud Segestanos *ex ære simulacrum Dianæ*, cum summâ atque antiquissimâ præditum religione,[20] tum

[20] Since the Trojans in their voyage to Sicily rested, and were hospitably received, in the island of Delos, the birth-place of Diana, it

singulari opere artificioque perfectum. Hoc translatum Carthaginem, locum tantùm, hominesque mutarat; religionem quidem pristinam conservabat; nam propter eximiam pulchritudinem, etiam hostibus digna, quam sanctissimè colerent, videbatur."

Some years afterwards P. Scipio, having taken Carthage, restored to the Segestans their famous bronze statue, concerning which the Roman orator continues: "hæc ipsa Diana, de quâ dicimus, redditur: reportatur *Segestam:* in suis antiquis *sedibus* summâ cum gratulatione civium, et lætitiâ reponitur. Hæc erat posita *Segestæ*, sane excelsâ in basi; in quâ grandibus literis P. AFRICANI nomen erat incisum, eumque CARTHAGINE CAPTA RESTITVISSE, perscriptum. Colebatur à civibus: ab omnibus advenis visebatur."

The words here used are, "in suis antiquis *sedibus*," —not antiquis *ædibus*,[21]— meaning *in its old place, at Segesta, in truth upon a very lofty base.* If the statue of Diana had stood in a *Templum*, or even in a *Fanum*, Cicero would doubtless have named it, and described it in the *same* language, as that which he has subsequently used, when speaking of the beautiful and similar *statue* of Hercules at Agrigentum. "Herculis *Templum*," he distinctly says, "est apud Agrigentinos, non longè à foro, sane sanctum apud illos, et religiosum. *Ibi est ex ære simulacrum* ipsius Herculis,

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is not improbable that they imported to Segesta the worship of that goddess.

[21] It is clear from a passage (in cap. 49, In Verrem) that Cicero does not intend *sedibus* to be synonymous with *templis*, for he has there made use of *both* those words: "hanc ipsam Cererem, ... à C. Verre ex suis *Templis*, ac *sedibus* esse sublatam." But this relates to the statue of Ceres at Enna.

quo non facilè quidquam dixerim me vidisse pulchrius."[22]

Neither can I find in any *other* part of the oration against Verres, any notice of an ancient *Temple* of *Diana* in Segesta.

Fifthly. Ceres is only assumed by conjecture, because she was considered to have been born in Sicily, and worshipped throughout the island.[23] Following Biscari[24] and Vitruvius,[25] I have elsewhere stated, that since this temple had probably been placed "*extra* urbem," it must have been dedicated to Ceres.[26] But, on further investigation, there is nothing to demonstrate that it stood *without* the city; and I now imagine, although the temple was erected upon an isolated eminence, still it was *within* the walls of Segesta. Indeed, we find that the temple of the chief or tutelar deity occupied the loftiest place *in* the city, like the Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens.

Again, other authors suppose this temple to have been sacred to Venus, from an inscription bearing the words ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΙ ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑΙ having been discovered among the ruins of Segesta.

This inscription is given in Gualther's Siciliæ Antiq. Tab. p. 49, No. 321: it states that a brother, Diodotus Appeiræus, (*dedicates*) his sister Minyra, acting as a priestess to the Heavenly Venus, and affords no proof of Venus having had a temple, or an altar, *in* Segesta. Amico, in his edition of Fazello 'De Rebus

[22] Cic. in Verr. Act. II. lib. iv. cap. 43.

[23] *Ibid.* cap. 48 et cap. 49.

[24] Viaggio, &c. p. 218.

[25] Vitruv. lib. i. cap. 7.

[26] Page 48 of the Author's 'Letters from Abroad to a Friend at Cambridge.' Lond. 1844.

Siculis,' (Catan. 1749,) adds the following sensible note respecting this inscription: "Nonnulli *Veneris Erycinæ* ministram hanc *Appiræi* sororem fuisse ex hâc eâdem inscriptione eruant." (p. 311, vol. i.)

The temple of Venus on the lofty Mount Eryx, now called *Monte S. Giuliano*, was only a few miles distant from Segesta to the north-west; and we learn from Tacitus that the Segestans paid great regard to that temple: "et Segestani 'ædem *Veneris*, montem apud *Erycem* vetustate dilapsam, restaurari' postulavere; nota memorantes de *origine* ejus." [27]

I have not been able to find any *other* mention of a

[27] The remainder of this passage is, "et læta Tiberio: suscepit curam libens, ut consanguineus." (Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. cap. 43.) Swinburne, in his 'Travels in the two Sicilies,' p. 234, (vol. ii. edit. 4to, Lond. 1785,) says that the Temple of Segesta "was, perhaps, the very temple which the Segestans obtained leave from Tiberius Cæsar to erect." This is most likely an error; for I cannot find any authority for believing that the Emperor Tiberius allowed the *erection* of a temple *in Segesta*. The quotation from Tacitus informs us that Tiberius took upon himself the care of repairing the Temple of Venus on Mount Eryx; so Swinburne must have misconceived the passage as relating to the temple *in Segesta*, instead of that in the neighbouring *Eryx*. Moreover, the architecture and the appearance of the Segestan Temple evidently betoken for its construction a date *much anterior* to the reign of *that* emperor. But Suetonius, in his life of Claudius Cæsar, writes, "Templum quoque in Siciliâ *Veneris Erycinæ* vetustate collapsum, ut ex ærario Populi Romani reficeretur, auctor fuit." (Cap. 25.) On this the learned Brotier, in his edition of Tacitus (tom. i. p. 230, note 7, Par. 1771), remarks, "Adversari videtur Suetonius . . . . . fortè nulla inter scriptores pugna; sed *cæpit* Tiberius, *perfecit* Claudius." I will only observe, that there exists no real disagreement between these ancient authors; for Tacitus says, Tiberius took upon himself the *care* of the *repairs* of that *same* temple; and Suetonius merely adds, that Claudius was the authority for those *repairs* being *paid for* out of the *public treasury*.

Temple in Segesta, except that dedicated to Eneas, which is, without ambiguity, described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as ἱερὸν Αἰνείου ἱδρυμένον ἐν Αἰγέστῃ, and which was built and consecrated by those of the expedition who remained in Segesta, to the memory of Eneas their *Saviour*, or *Preserver*.

The extremely ancient and most venerable *appearance* of the present temple, and the *want* of flutings in its pillars,—a want which does not exist in the temples at Pæstum, or in any of the other temples of Sicily,—most strongly induce me to consider this edifice as that which was erected to Eneas. And I may say, that such was the inclination of that eminent architect, the late Mr. Wilkins; who, in his splendid work on the 'Antiquities of Magna Græcia,' (p. 52,) thus speaks of it: "Any opinion, as to the *period* in which this building was erected, must rest upon conjecture; unless it be allowed that this is the temple mentioned by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, as the one which was built by the Trojans who remained in Sicily after the departure of Eneas.[28] The solidity of its construction affords ground for classing it among the *earliest* of existing monuments in Sicily; and if simplicity be a characteristic of age in architecture, *this temple* may claim a title to the *highest antiquity*." And M. de la Salle[29] fully corroborates this statement in the following passage: "Sa simple et mâle architecture atteste un art dans sa force première, et pour ainsi dire dans la rudesse de son développement, mais étranger encore à l'étude et à l'harmonie des détails." It may be interesting to observe concerning the *age* of

[28] *Vide* Dion. Hal. lib. i. cap. 52 et cap. 53.

[29] 'Voyage Pittoresque en Sicile,' tom. i. Paris, 1822.

the only other remaining structure in Segesta,—the *theatre*,—that the Duke of Serradifalco believes it to be of *extreme antiquity*. His words are: "Il *Teatro* Egestano presenta nella sua costruzione medesima tutti i caratteri di un monumento *antichissimo*," (p. 129, vol. i. Antich. della Sicil.) And considering the climate of Sicily as not very different from that of the neighbouring Egypt, the action of the weather upon edifices built of common marble, or compact limestone, will be nearly similar in both countries. In the latter, buildings of thirty centuries are at this day in admirable preservation: consequently, nothing arising from the natural effects of climate and atmospheric changes can be alleged against this being the *Temple* of *Eneas*. And so, it will have stood full *three thousand years*.

Moreover, it may possibly be objected, that in my restoration of this Segestan inscription Eneas ought not to be accounted a deity, and that the epithet Σωτὴρ is not applicable to him.

These objections, however, I will thus briefly refute.

That excellent archæologist, the Prince of Torremuzza, has well remarked,—"Obvium est item urbium *conditores divinos*, tanquam Heroes, *honores* obtinuisse apud Veteres;"[30] so it must be borne in mind, that Eneas was not only a *Founder* of cities, but also a *Hero*—a Demi-God,—being the son of Venus, and, in reality, the very Σωτὴρ, or *Saviour*, of the Trojan race. The exact words of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, it must be remembered, are, τοῦ ΣΩΣΑΝΤΟΣ σφᾶς.

Eneas, therefore, being the *Founder* of Segesta, received divine honours, as Πολιοῦχος, the *Tutelary Deity*,

[30] Siciliæ Pop. Vet. Nummi, p. 61.

and as Σωτὴρ, the *Saviour* of the first Trojan inhabitants, who likewise, as we have seen, erected a *temple* to him. Indeed, Dionysius[31] further records of Eneas, that after his death, on the banks of the Numicius, in Latium, the Latins dedicated a heroic monument to him, and in the inscription placed upon it he was entitled, *Πατὴρ ΘΕΟΣ χθόνιος*:[32]—so Livy adds, that Eneas, after death, received the appellation of IVPITER *Indiges*.[33]

Lastly, the Segestan inscription is worthy of further and especial attention from the very rare and remarkable form of the **P**, which the Prince of Torremuzza[34] says, he never saw in any other example of the monuments of Sicily that had been discovered up to his time. Montfaucon, in his 'Palæographia Græca,'[35] mentions an inscription with the square **P**. But the only other inscription which I have been able to find is published in Gruter's 'Inscriptiones Antiquæ,' tom. ii. p. 1159, No. 12, (edit. *Græv.* Amst. 1707,)

[31] Dion. Hal. lib. i. cap. 64.

[32] Yesterday, on looking over Dr. E. D. Clarke's 2nd volume of Travels, I was glad to observe at p. 86 the following inscription, found by him in the Plain of Troy:

ΟΙΙΛΙΕΙC
ΤΟΝΠΑΤΡΙΟΝΘΕΟΝ
ΑΙΝΕΙΑΝ

"The Ilieans to their Country's *God Eneas*."

This most interesting inscription thoroughly confirms my views; and had I been aware of it at the time of writing my Paper, it would have saved me some research.—J. H. May 20, 1846.

[33] *Vide* Liv. Hist. lib. i. cap. 2.

[34] See p. 264, 'Le Antiche Iscrizioni di Palermo.'

[35] Lib. iv. cap. 10, p. 336, Paris, 1708. This is, I think, most likely the *same* inscription as that which is given in Gruter's work, and which was found at Autun.

and which is there stated to have been discovered at Autun in France.

The learned will judge, I trust, with candour, of my restoration of this Segestan inscription, which they will probably look upon as a monument not altogether unimportant in elucidating the archæological history of Sicily.

Postscript.—Since this Paper was read, I have met with two more inscriptions in which the same form of the P occurs. The one is given at No. 10, Plate II. of 'Inscriptiones Græcæ Ineditæ,' à Ludovico Rossio, (Fasciculus I. *Naupliæ*, 1834,) from an inscription dug up on the site of the ancient *Thelpusa*, now Vanena, or rather *Βάνενα*, in the Morea. And the other is published in the third volume of Boeckh's 'Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum,' edited by J. Franz, at p. 275, No. 4668, h. This is the same as that which is engraved at No. 9, Plate XIII. vol. ii. of the Transactions of this Society, being one of the many inscriptions copied by the Rev. G. F. Grey from the rocks in the Wadi Mukatteb, or *Written Valley*, between Suez and Mount Sinai, in Arabia Petræa. Also, Admiral Beaufort ('Karamania,' p. 184), mentioning several Greek inscriptions discovered at *Selinty*, the ancient Selinus, and after the death of Trajan called Trajanopolis, on the coast of Cilicia in Asia Minor, states that there is one "which is apparently very ancient, having the *Rho*, Sigma, and Omicron, made with *square lines:* it is very imperfect, but the former name of the city is distinct, ΣΕΛΙΝΟΥΝ."

To the recently published 'Travels in Lycia' by

Lieutenant Spratt and Professor Forbes, (vol. ii. p. 311,) Mr. Daniel Sharpe has appended the following general remarks on the early coins and names of Segesta.

"There are other instances of a change in the name of towns indicated by the legends on their *coins*, but of which we have no other evidence: one instance is on the early coins of Selge, which have the name of Estfediius, which must be taken as the name of the town in a former language; another is on the *early coins* of Ægesta or Segesta in Sicily, which have the following legends,—ΣΕΓΕ, ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑ, ΣΑΓΕΣΤΑΞΙ, ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΞΙΒ, ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΙΕ, or ΣΕCΕΣΤΑΞΙΒΕΜΙ; while on *later coins* we have ΕΓΕΣΤΑΙΟΝ and ΕΓΗΣΤΑΙΩΝ, from which we may infer that the language of the town had changed to Greek at an early period, before the use of the vowels Η and Ω. All the traditions connected with Segesta give the inhabitants a Trojan origin, so that it is among the languages of Asia Minor that we must look for analogies to the language of the *earlier coins:* the first four legends given above are probably initial; the two, Segestazie and Segestazibemi, seem to be perfect words. There are two points in these names which have a resemblance to what is found in some Lycian coins: first, that the early name of the town must have been *Segestaza* or *Segestazi*, which, losing its Asiatic termination, was reduced in time to Segesta, as in the cases of Soura and Patara and Pitue given above; the other is the termination in *emi*, of which we have an instance in the Lycian coins of Trouneme; and, if I am right in the explanation given of the coins of Techche and Telewe, we shall have here an instance of the formation of the gentile name in nearly the

same manner, by the addition of the syllable *be*, forming *Segestazibe*."

I cannot omit the present opportunity of offering a few brief observations on the foregoing passage.

By comparing the Lycian alphabets as given in Sir Charles Fellows's 'Discoveries in Lycia,' and in Messrs. Spratt and Forbes's second volume, with the Greek Palæographia of the Sicilians published in the Prolegomena to the Prince of Torremuzza's 'Siciliæ Veterum Inscriptionum Nova Collectio,' we shall perceive that many of the old forms of Greek letters are the same, and others extremely similar. In all three, Ⅰ, the ancient form of Ζ, is found; it also occurs in the third, fourth, and sixth of the above legends; and it should exist in the fifth likewise, for the word accurately written is ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑⅠΙΕ. The final letter Β in the fourth legend is, I apprehend, an old form of the ω, derived from either ш, or ω,[36] by a line being placed over them thus, ⊡, ⊠; or from the ancient ⍝ ⍝, as given in Eckhel's 'Palæographia Græcorum ex Numis;'[37] for by placing these upright they become ⊟, ⊠, ⊠, or the letter Β. Moreover, in the Lycian alphabet this appears to be considered as ω. If so, then the fourth of the above legends will be read ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΖΙΩ. Also, the penultimate letter Μ in the sixth word is only a form of Σ, as may be seen at p. xliv. of Torremuzza's Prolegomena; in fact it is merely the Σ turned down; consequently I am inclined to consider the sixth legend as ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑΖΙΩΕΣΙ. Yet I ought to mention, that the terminations—ⅠΙ, ⅠΙΒ, and ⅠΙΕ, have been conjectured by some authors to

[36] See letter Ω in Torremuzza's Prolegomena.

[37] *Vide* Proleg. General. tab. i. p. civ. Doct. Num. vol. i.

be numerals, or marks denoting years;[38] although, I cannot think they are such, but solely portions of the several most ancient names of Segesta. However, this seems to be clearly established; that the Lycian alphabet is made up partly of the older forms of Greek letters, and partly of the angular or arrow-headed characters of some other ancient language—probably of the Persian. And I may add that this is not a solitary example; for that distinguished Grecian and able authority, Colonel Leake, says that "we have proofs of the existence of *similar alphabets* in Pamphylia and Phrygia."[39]

Euripides[40] has written, that the inhabitants of the sea coasts of the whole of Asia (Minor) were a mixed people consisting of *Greeks* and *Barbarians:* his words are,—

> Ἀσίαν τε πάσαν, ἡ παρ' ἁλμυρὰν ἅλα
> Κεῖται, μιγάσιν Ἕλλησι βαρβάροις θ' ὁμοῦ,
> Πλήρεις ἔχουσα καλλιπυργώτους πόλεις·—

and as to the *alphabets* of these inhabitants, that statement of the poet is strictly true; but he has unfortunately not told us, whether these *Barbarians* were the original natives, *i. e. indigenous* barbarians, or *foreigners* and conquerors, such as Persians, &c.

The angular or arrow-headed characters may be distinctly traced in many of the letters of the ancient Sicilian alphabet, as presented in Torremuzza's work; and this fact leads me to suppose that it is most probable that those used in Sicily, especially at Segesta, were originally introduced by Trojan or Asiatic colo-

[38] *Vide* p. lxi. Prolegom. Torrem.

[39] P. 269, vol. i. *Second Series,* 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.'

[40] Bacchæ, v. 17–19.

nists: and in the highly interesting remark of Mr. D. Sharpe, "that it is among the languages of Asia Minor that we must look for analogies to the language of the earlier coins" of Segesta, I entirely coincide.

Future ethnologists and travellers in Asia Minor may ultimately be able to solve this important question: I will only state, that it appears likely to afford, in an unexpected manner, evidence of the Trojan or Asiatic origin of the earliest inhabitants of Segesta, and thus philologically to prove the correctness of all ancient traditions of that place.

XII.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE HIEROGLYPHICAL INSCRIPTION OF THE OBELISK OF THE ATMEIDAN AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ.

(Read January the 8th, 1846.)

Mr. Bonomi having communicated to me a copy of the obelisk of the Atmeidan at Constantinople, and having announced his intention of devoting a short Paper to give a sketch of its transfer to the metropolis of the eastern empire, I avail myself of the opportunity of offering to the Society a succinct analysis of the inscription,—one of the few documents which have reached us of the reign of Thothmes III.

Great difficulty was experienced by Mr. Cory in copying the inscription. The celebrated traveller Niebuhr [1] was indeed afraid, on his first visit to Constantinople, to draw the hieroglyphics; but on his second visit he copied them fearlessly, amidst a mob of one hundred and fifty Turks. The copy of Niebuhr, although excellent for his time, and superior to similar plates of his contemporaries, is yet far inferior to that of Mr. Cory, but it exhibits some differences. Niebuhr attempted to copy the apex; and on two triangular sides of the pyramidal top, he shows a figure, probably the monarch standing and facing a divinity. He also gives the square compartments on the top of the shaft: two, representing Thothmes III. standing, offering wine,

[1] Reise-beschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern, 4to. Kopenhagen, 1774. Erster. band, Tab. iv.

milk, or some other liquid, to Amen-ra, seated; the two others, the same scene, but with another divinity, probably Ra or Atum, substituted for Amen.

The obelisk seems to have stood originally in the fifth quarter, but to have been shaken down by an earthquake, and in its present condition the lower half of this monolith is wanting: though this portion probably exists, or existed, in Constantinople; for it is not likely that an imperfect monument of this class would have been removed from Egypt. It was, from its dedication to Amen-ra, the great divinity of Ap-t, colloquially Tai-ape, the *capital*—Thebes or Diospolis—probably one that was originally placed by the Egyptian monarch in the temple at Karnak, which he embellished; his constructions being found to commence with the granite sanctuary, and to comprise nearly a third of that edifice.

The distribution of the subject, the material, and the dimensions of this obelisk, correspond with those of the obelisk of St. John of the Lateran,[2] also erected by the third Thothmes; and I conceive that it may have been the companion of that monolith. It has not, it is true, the lateral inscriptions of Rameses III. and Thothmes IV., as the Lateran[3] and Alexandrian obelisks[4] have; but reasons with which we are unacquainted may have prevented the obelisk of the Atmeidan receiving those additions.

On the wall close to the granite sanctuary[5] at Karnak, where Thothmes III. is represented offering the rich spoils or tributes to Amen-ra, two obelisks

[2] Ungarelli, Interpretatio Obeliscorum, fo. Romæ, 1842, Tab. I. p. 3, *et seq.* [3] Idem. [4] Burton, Exc. Hier. Pl. LII.

[5] Champollion, Mon. de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, tom. i. Pl. LXI. The obelisks only are given in Burton, Exc. Hier. Pl. XXIX.

are seen standing, each inscribed with a single line. The purport of the first before the king is, that '*he has set up three large obelisks of red granite, tipped with gold;*' and of the second, that '*he has erected two obelisks of red granite to Amen-ra, at the pyla of his divine residence,*' or '*temple.*' Two obelisks only are here represented, and the same number are seen in the rich spoil of the tomb of the military chief, published by Mr. Hoskins.[6] But as two obelisks are the ordinary allowance to a gateway, it is possible that there were four obelisks at Karnak, of which the two principal were the two now under consideration, which must have stood before the first propylon in front of the granite sanctuary.

A late period of the reign of Thothmes III. must be assigned to the granite sanctuary, and consequently to the obelisks. The statistical tablet of Karnak records the tributes and exploits of the king, from his twenty-fifth to his thirty-fourth year;[7] and Dr. Lepsius has found as high a date as his thirty-fifth year, while the mutilated inscription on the back of the colossus of Thothmes I., at the third propylon on the south side of Karnak, prolongs the reign of Thothmes III. to the forty-second year.[8] It is hence necessary to give to Thothmes III. the thirty-nine years of Amenophis II., of the list of Manetho, according to the Chevalier Bunsen's arrangement of the eighteenth dynasty.[9]

[6] Travels in Æthiopia.

[7] An indifferent copy of this tablet is given in Young's Hieroglyphics, fol. Lond. 1823, Plates XL. XLI.

[8] Rosellini, M. St. tom. iii. Pte. I. p. 125, 126. Tav. ann. pag. fig. 2.

[9] Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte, 8vo, Hamburgh, 1845, 3 Buch, s. 76. u. f. On the lintel of the gate of the secos of Amada, (Champ. Mon. tome i. Pl. XLV. 2,) the names of Thothmes III.

From the tablet of the Wadi Magara, published by Laborde,[10] dated in the sixteenth year of the regent sister, Num-t-amen-Ha-asu, it is evident that her active regency extended over half the reign.[11] But on neither of these obelisks is there any trace of association in the empire; and the principal monuments of Thothmes III. were executed towards the close of his reign, when, as appears from the studious mutilation of his sister's cartouches, he had got rid of her, probably by a political revolution. The obelisks were consequently erected posterior to the twenty-fifth regnal year of the king.

The obelisk has on each side a perpendicular line of hieroglyphics well executed, and has not had its lateral spaces usurped by any other monarch. On it occur the king's square title or standard, the vulture, and uræus title, and the hawk of gold title, besides four variations of the prenomen; but all these are found at Samneh.[12] I will here give a literal translation of the lines of the four sides.

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and Amenophis II. are combined in the same inscription: one is called Hek-Pen-nu, "ruler of the North of Egypt," the other Hek-Neser (?) "ruler of the South;" from which it would appear almost certain they reigned conjointly, and possibly Thothmes III., in his later years, associated Amenophis II. in the government.

[10] Voyage à l'Arabie Pétrée, fo. Paris, 1830, Pl. VIII.

[11] I here take an opportunity of correcting, or rather of explaining, a statement made by me, Gall. of Antiq. p. 77. Wilkinson (Mat. Hier.) gives the mutilated cartouch on the statue of A-neb-to, and her title as sister; and Dr. Hincks (Trans. Roy. Irish Acad. 1839, p. 193, 194,) had restored her to her proper place. For the clear explanation of this part of the eighteenth dynasty, cf. Bunsen, *loc. cit.* She was regent after the death of her father till the middle of the reign of Thothmes III., and the regnal years are probably dated from the death of Thothmes I.

[12] The five titles of the kings are probably those which allude to

Line 1.—"The living Sun, the Horus rejoicing in the crown of the upper country, beloved of the Sun; the king, the lord of the upper and lower world, making himself to be crowned by truth; substance of the Sun, beloved of the world, the Sun establishing existence, the mighty lord, chastising all lands, extending his frontiers to the horns [*ends*] of the world, his seats to Naharaina" [*rest wanting*].

Line 2.—"The Horus, the mighty bull, beloved of the Sun; the king of the upper and lower world, the Sun establishing existence, magnified by Ra, nursed by Atum, the youth on the arms of Neith, the mother goddess, causing his rule to proceed over all lands, prolonging the duration of years, lord of panegyries" [*rest wanting*].

Line 3.—"The Horus, the mighty bull, crowned by truth, the king of the upper and lower country; the Sun establishing existence, the pupil of the Sun, encircling with his boats the great waters of Naharaina with power and victory before his troops, making great altars" [*rest wanting*].

Line 4.—"The Horus, the mighty bull, crowned with power, lord of the upper and lower country, diffusing his dominion like the Sun in the heaven; the hawk of gold, distributor of diadems, first of the vigilant, the Sun establishing existence, approved of the Sun, has made it with his offerings to his father Amen-ra, lord of the thrones of the world" [*rest wanting*].

The great historical interest of this inscription is, that it is one of the earliest which mention Naharaina, which we find to be the frontier of the Egyptian

his pentarchical government. For the inscriptions at Samneh, cf. Cailliaud, Voyage à Meroe, tom. ii. Pl. XXVII.–XXIX.; Young, Hieroglyphics, Pl. XCI.–XCV.

monarchy. The first notice of its being attacked by the Egyptians is in the reign of his father Thothmes I.[13] From another document, Thothmes III. is known to have advanced to the Ta-hen or Ten-hen, one of the most northern people with whom the Egyptians were acquainted, and who are the type of the northern races themselves. Another point of considerable importance is, that they were attacked by a fleet; but the first fleet represented is in the reign of Rameses III. Yet Babylon was not accessible in those times to an army; and the fleet of Thothmes III. must have sailed down into the Erythræan sea, and ascended the mouth of the Euphrates. These exploits are usually attributed to Sesostris.[14]

I shall proceed to consider two monuments bearing on the history of this reign; one, the statistical tablet of Karnak, the other, the tomb published by Mr. Hoskins. The first division of the tomb represents the tribute or offerings of the four great races into which the Egyptians then divided the world. The first are the people of P'hun-t, probably the Libyans, as the *Nahsi* of *P'hun-t*, or Negroes of P'hun-t, attend at the procession in honour of Amen-ra at Medinat Haboo. In the tomb at Thebes they bring collars, ivory, and curious trees. The presence of ivory in the tribute points out a Libyan origin to these people; for a tribe, which, there is reason to believe, came from Ethiopia, are subsequently represented.

The second race are the people of Kfa or Kaf .[15] These people are red, like the Egyptians, and neither black as the negroes, yellow as the Semitic

[13] Lepsius, Auswahl, Taf. xiv. A. [14] Herod. ii. 102. Diod. i. 55.

[15] Badly copied in Hoskins, *loc. cit.*; correctly given in Wilk. Man. and Cust. Ser. i. vol. i. Pl. iv. Cf. Champ. Mon. Egypt. t. ii. Pl. cxc.

tribes, nor pale pink, as the Egyptians depict the Japhetic tribes. The name Kaf resembles that of the Caphtorim of the 10th chapter of Genesis,[16] who have been placed in the Arabian peninsula or Crete. It is highly improbable that an Arabian or Cretan people are here represented. Their name bears a relation to the Egyptian word Kfa, '*to disturb*,' or '*chase*;' and their hair, curled into a single lock at their right side, recalls in some respects the Libyan nomades, and other tribes lying to the west.[17] The presents which they bring announce a considerable degree of civilization, and much resemble those transported from Mesopotamia, in whose vicinity they were probably placed.

The third tribe are '*the chiefs of Southern Peti*:' usually connected with Libya, through the analogy of Peti and Phut;[18] but Peti or "bow-land" is probably Nubia,—for it occurs more frequently on the monuments of Ethiopia.

The fourth or last division is the Ru-ten-nu, or Lu-den-nu; for both words can be equally read. These people are pale-faced, with delicate complexions and long tunics. They bring gloves, jars of wine and frankincense, skins of leather, chariots, clubs, white and chestnut horses, an elephant, ivory, and a white bear. They have been supposed by M. Lenormant[19] and by Rosellini to represent the Ludim, Central Asia, not in the restricted sense of Lydia; by Sir Gardner Wilkin-

[16] Lenormant, Cours d'Hist. Anc. p. 245. I would suggest the possibility of the Caphtorim being Cyprians, and the Casluchim the Cilicians, instead of Colchans and Cretans. The name of the *Kfa* resembles that of Gaza (Zech. ix. 5, Zeph. ii. 4), celebrated for their productions of splendid furniture and metallic work.

[17] Herod. iv. 191.

[18] According to Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 151, they are the actual Lydians.

[19] Lenormant, *loc. cit.* p. 235.

son, to be the Ratheni of the Arabian Chersonese;[20] by a learned physiologist of America, Dr. Morton,[21] to be the Hindus (such as the Ro-tana);[22] and by Mr. Osburn to be Arvadites.[23] There is great reason for assigning them to Central Asia,—from their features, the gloves,[24] which were objects peculiarly Persian and Babylonian, and the elephant, in this case the Asiatic variety, which was only known to the ancients till the period of the Persians as a native of India and Libya.[25]

In the conquests of Sethos I. they manifest all the traces of a Semitic race;[26] and in the description of these people, amongst the victories of the same monarch, they are called '*the evil chiefs of the Ruten, led by his (the king's) power from the land of the Khita.*'[27] In the grand ethnographical table of the vanquished nations of the same monarch, the Ruten-nu occur among the

[20] Wilkinson, Man. and Cust. Ser. i. vol. i.

[21] Crania Æg. 4to, 1844, p. 50. [22] Steph. Byz. *voce.*

[23] Ancient Egypt, 8vo, Lond. 1846, p. 52.

[24] Cf. Xenoph. Cyrop. and Gall. Ant. p. 80. A similar object on the stucco of a tomb, removed from Thebes by Mr. Seymour, is held in the hands of an Asiatic: it resembles an elephant's tusk, terminating in a carved female head and hand.

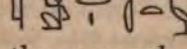
[25] Cf. Herod. iv. 191. Ctesias, à Muller, 8vo, Par. 1844, p. 29. Assyriaca, ii. 80, 81–88. The earliest mention of ivory in the Scriptures is in the time of Solomon.

[26] Rosel. M. R. Tav. XLVIII.–LII.

[27] Id. M. R. LIX. The scenes in which the Chta are represented correspond with the descriptions of Diodorus, i. 48.

Champollion, in his Lettr. Ecr. pp. 267–8, supposed them to be the Indo-Bactrians, and we might have the Cuthæi; and in his Grammaire, p. 151, the Scythians. From their vicinity to Mesopotamia, I have supposed them to be the Cuthæans, Gall. Ant. p. 89. Cf. also Hincks in Report of Syro-Egyptian Society, 8vo, 1847, p. 6. Transactions of British Archæological Association, 8vo, Lond. 1846, pp. 252, 253. Their name is sufficiently near the Get-æ, or Goth-i, and S-kuthi, Chald-æi, and Celt-æ,—all tribes of one great family.

nations of the North, amongst some of the most northern, supposing that table to be geographically constructed: they follow after three unknown tribes, —the Shepherds, the Khita or Khta, and the land of Naharaina or Mesopotamia, and are followed by the Saenkar, Singara, or the Mesopotamian Senaar. In this tablet[28] they are divided into the *upper* and *lower Ruten-nu*, which implies an extensive district or province. There is consequently considerable reason for placing the Ruten-nu on the confines of Mesopotamia, and certainly in a northern or eastern direction. They might be the Leuco-Syri. But the grand difficulty still remains of identifying the particular people. Some more light is thrown upon the history of this reign by the statistical tablet of Karnak, now existing in the magazine of the Louvre, of which an indifferent copy has been published by Dr. Young,[29] and another, more correct, by Dr. Lepsius. This document contains a record of the tributes or offerings made to the temple of Amen-ra at Karnak, inscribed on one of the walls of the granite sanctuary, and is surmounted by a band of large hieroglyphics, containing the name and titles of Thothmes III. It is unfortunately much mutilated, but reaches from the twenty-ninth to the thirty-fourth year, and contains some of the most important notices of the early history of Central Asia. This tablet comprises accounts of the tributes to the king, from his twenty-ninth to his thirty-eighth regnal year.

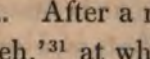
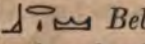
In the twenty-ninth year occurred the capture of the fortress of the  Aru-ta-ut.[30] In the thirtieth year, the monarch approached the Atshu

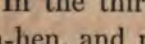
[28] Rosel. Mon. St. tom. iii. Pte. i. p. 420, Tav. LXI. 2, 29.

[29] Hieroglyph. Pl. XLI.

[30] The Arutu, a name resembling Alutu or Eluths, or even Arad,

or fort, perhaps the Atesi or Atet of the Ruten; and the chiefs, with their children and brethren, were led to Egypt. In the thirty-first year, 490 captives were led from the fort of the Petrutu, on the Merna, which appears to be Pethor or Petra, in the land of Mesopotamia.

In his thirty-third year, we find the monarch again in Ruten-nu, and capturing the fortress, and harassing Naharaina. After a mention of  'Neniiu,' or 'Nineveh,'[31] at which the king had '*stopped, he set up his tablet in Naharaina (Mesopotamia), on account of his having enlarged the frontier of Egypt.*' Twenty-four ingots of glass(?) were brought as the tributes by the chief of *Saenkar* or Singara, and as many from  *Bebel* or Babylon. Naharaina is also again mentioned, which proves that no other city than Babylon can be here intended. Notice is also taken of the sledges laden with stone brought from the land of P'hun-t in that year.

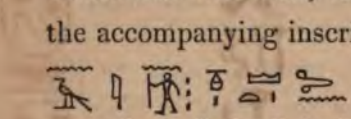
In the thirty-fourth year the monarch went to the Ta-hen, and mention is made of the pools or lakes of Iukasa  .[32] The Ta-hen were the northernmost people with whom the Egyptians were acquainted at the period of the eighteenth dynasty. The lake Iukasa may be the Hyrcanian Sea, or Caspian. These people continued the boundary to which the Egyptians reached under the eighteenth and consecutive dynasties; for we find Sethos I. designating in general terms his conquests in the same

are among the prisoners of Rameses III. Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica, Pl. VIII. No. 1–10.

[31] This name was discovered by Champollion. Gr. Eg. p. 150.

[32] The name Iukasa suggests Oxus, but the Biblical name of this river was Gihon. Gen. ii. 13.

manner as his predecessor, Thothmes III. There is an unequivocal proof of the arms of the second Rameses having advanced to Tartary; and his predecessors must have prepared the route by previous conquests between the Euphrates and the Indus. As two conquerors, Darius and Alexander, subsequently traversed the same ground, no utter impossibility is implied in carrying, in the earlier history of Central Asia, Egyptian monarchs to the Indus. In the 35th line, it is stated that the chief of the Asi presented 2080 lumps or bricks of pitch or bitumen, from which it must be concluded that the Asi are the Mesopotamian His of Herodotus.

In immediate connection with the Karnak tablet is the consecration of the enumerated objects by the monarch. The monarchs of Egypt seem to have still continued their conquest; for under Thothmes IV.[33] the chiefs of Mesopotamia are represented prostrate before the monarch, and offering vases of gold, while the accompanying inscription testifies  '*the escorting of the bringing of the presents from Mesopotamia by the chiefs of that country; offered up, that they may receive the breath of life.*' They manifest all the characters of the Semitic races,—long beards, long noses, receding foreheads, and furrowed cheeks.

The principal other memorial of this reign, the temple of Samneh in Nubia, erected in honour of the monarch, Usr-t-sen II. of the twelfth dynasty, and the divinity Tat-hen, appears to be a religious edifice, and contains no historical notices.

S. B.

[33] Eighth Tomb at Gournah. Champ. Mon. Eg. tom. ii. Pl. CLX.

OBELISK OF CONSTANTINOPLE

J.A. CORT. DEL

J. GUIGNET. LITH

XIII.—GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THESSALY AND EPIRUS.

LETTER FROM MR. LYONS TO COLONEL LEAKE, WITH SOME NOTES BY THE LATTER.

(Read Feb. 26, 1846.)

Athens, 5th December, 1845.

My dear Sir,

I do not know whether you are aware that there are considerable ancient remains on a hill near the Theatre at Ieró.[1] There is a large vaulted building, constructed of small stones and tiles, with some large squared stones taken from some other building. The vaulting (which is perfect except in one part where it has fallen in) sprang from six supports (four only of them remain) which ran down the centre. Two of these are portions of shafts of fluted columns; the other two which remain are composed of large squared stones, apparently not originally intended for their present place. There is a circular opening in the top, in the middle of the vaulting at one end; and at the other, near the corner, in one of the long sides, a small entrance with steps down from above. The building is oblong, eighty-two feet seven inches long, and twenty-

[1] τὸ Ἱερόν, as the Sacred Grove of Æsculapius in the Epidauria is now called.

one feet wide; and the inside has been stuccoed throughout. There are remains of other chambers of similar construction connected with it, but so much ruined that it is difficult to make any thing of them. A great number of large squared stones, and some stone water-conduits, are lying about on the top and sides of the hill. At the foot is a ruined Turkish fountain, by the side of the road from Lykouriò to Damalà; and further on, in the direction of the site of the great temple, and connected with the fountain by the remains of an ancient water-conduit, is a very large and handsome ancient building of large squared stones, stuccoed inside, and divided by four walls and arches. It was apparently always underground, and is now filled up inside nearly as high as the spring of the arches, which appear to have been intended to support a roof: the centre part of all of them has fallen in.

In the ravine immediately below the other remains (those on the top of the hill) is a ruined Byzantine church, composed principally of stones, &c., brought from above. There are the following inscriptions on stones built into the wall.

I.

ΕΑΡΕ
ΦΑΩΝ
ΓΥΡΦΟΡΟ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΙ

II.

ΛΙΙC ΛΩΝΙ
ΕΚΑΤΗΒΕΛΕΤΗΙ
ΟΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗC
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗC
ΚΑΤΟΝΑΡ

III.

ΦΟΙΒΩΑ⊬ΕΙ
ΡΕΚΟΜΗΚΑ
ΥΙΕΙΒΩΜΟΝΕ
ΕΘΗΚΕΝΑΡ⊢
ΤΗΡΜΑΙΩΡ

IV.

On another stone a long inscription, of which I could only make out

ΣΑΣΑΡΤΕ
ΙΔΙΕΝΟ
ΔΙ

The holy table has also been an inscribed stone; but a great part having been cut off, and the middle hollowed out, only a few letters remain, among which *Διοδώρου* may be deciphered.

The lintel of one of the doors of the church is sculptured with three Doric triglyphs; it appears to be of the same kind of stone, and (judging by the eye) of proportions which would suit the two parts of shafts which support the vaulted building on the hill above.

I saw these remains myself for the first time on Tuesday last, and made notes about them on the spot. On reading the account of Ieró in the second volume of your Travels in the Morea, on my return to my baggage, it occurred to me that the remains might indicate the site of the Temple of Apollo Maleatas upon Mount Cynortium, to which Antoninus Pius added a receptacle for water, and that consequently it might interest you to have an account of them. The annexed sketch may perhaps give you an idea

of the situation,—the remains, which I think may show the site of the temple of Apollo Maleatas, are marked B in it.

Yours very faithfully,

R. B. LYONS.

I.

Ἐάρε[ινος Φάων[ος πύρφορος ἀνέθηκα

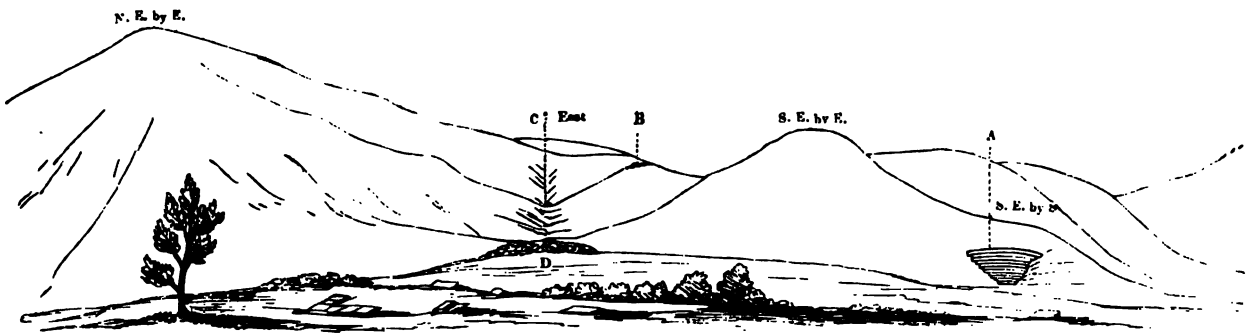
Dr. Clarke (vi. p. 412) copied the first line IAPE, which has led Boeckh to suppose the first word to have been Ἰαρεὺς, but these inscriptions seem to have been all subsequent to Antoninus, when the temple was restored, and not in the Doric dialect. Dr. Clarke moreover was seldom very correct.

II.

Ἀπόλλωνι ἑκατηβελέτῃ ὁ ἱεροφάντης Διογένης κατ' ὄναρ

This inscription was copied by Chandler in the year 1766. (Ins. Ant. II. cxliii.) In his narative he says, "Going up the water-course between the mountains, is a church, where, besides fragments, we found a short inscription, 'Diogenes the hierophant to far-darting Apollo on account of a vision in his sleep.' Apollo had a temple on Mount Cynortium, probably on this spot, and on a summit beyond are other traces,—it is likely of a temple of Diana." The information of Mr. Lyons clearly shows that the latter position was occupied by the temple of Apollo, and that the inscription No. IV., and another reported by Dr. Clarke (p. 410), were dedications to Diana, such as were common in temples of Apollo.

The temple of Diana, to which Dr. Chandler alludes, was that of Diana Coryphæa, to whom Telesilla of Argos addressed one of her hymns; and Mount Coryphæa was to the south of the Epidaurian Hierum, as appears manifest from the remarks of Pausanias as to the boundaries of the Epidaurii and Asinæi (Corinth. 28, 2). That of Apollo Maleatas was to the east. A dedication to Diana from tenths inscribed in ancient characters, and in the Doric dialect (Ἀρτάμυτι δεκάταν), which Dr. Chandler found near the road from Ieró to Nauplia (prope viam, quæ Naupliam ducit; Inscr. Antiq. cxlv.), belonged probably to another temple of Diana, within the sacred enclosure (ἐντὸς τοῦ ἄλσους, Pausan. Cor. 27, 6).



A. Theatre. B. Ancient remains. C. Byzantine church. D. About the situation of the ancient building of squared stone.

The bearings are taken by *compass* from the site of the great temple.

[*To face page* 282.

III.

Φοίβῳ ἀκειρεκόμῃ καὶ νίεῖ βωμὸν ἔθηκεν
Ἀρητὴρ Μαῖωρ

This epithet of Apollo (intonsis capillis) was typical of the sun's rays, as we see well illustrated by the coins of Rhodes, Clazomenæ, &c. The name Μαῖωρ (Major) is found in Suidas as that of a Sophist.

IV.

[ἱεροπολή]σας Ἀρτέμιδι ἐνοδίᾳ

The restoration of the first word is found in inscriptions copied at this place by Chandler and Clarke (v. Boeckh, C. Inscr. Gr. Nos. 1169, 1173). It appears that the priests of Apollo and Diana bore the various titles of ἱερήπολος, ἀρητὴρ and πύρφορος. Ἐνόδια was an epithet of Diana, in her character of Hecate.

The following inscriptions were transmitted to me, from Athens, by Mr. Lyons, who collected them in a tour which he made through Thessaly and Epirus.

I.

At the village of Skímatári,—in a church on the road to Oropó.

ΔΙΩΝΟΥΣΙΟΣ.[1]

II.

ΝΙΚΙΓΓΟΣ

III.

At Chalcis.

ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΣΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΟΣ . . ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑΕΥΦΡΟΣ
ΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΟΥΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΥΣΥΝΟΥ
ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ

IV.

(ΟΔΗ) ΜΟΣΟΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩΝ ΚΤΗΣΙΠΠΟΝΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ
ΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΛΗΤΟΙ

V.

At Topolia (Lake Copais).

ΔΕΞΟΔΕΞΟΝΟΣ

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[1] The form of the name ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ in the Bœotian Æolic dialect.

VI.

At Velestino in Thessaly.

ΚΛΙΟΜΑΧΟΞ [2]
ΜΟΛΟΞΞΕΙΟΞ
ΑΞΚΛΑΠΙΟΥ

VII.

At Larissa.

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣΑΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΟΣ [3]

VIII.

ΜΕΛΑΝΘΟΣ ΔΑΜΟΝΙΚΕΙΑ

IX.

ΦΙΛΟΦΕΙΡΟΣ
Α ΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΣ [4]

X.

ΕΥΡΥΔΑΜΑΕΥΡΥ
ΔΑΜΟΝΤΟΣΓΥ
ΝΗΔΕΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ
ΗΡΩΙΣ

XI.

ΑΛΕΞΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΡΤΑΛΕΙΟΣ [5]

Lower, on same stone.

ΕΡΜΑΟΥ ΧΘΟΝΙΟΥ [6]

XII.

ΚΛΕΙΤΑΓΟΡΑ ΙΓΠ ·
ΝΕΙΚΟ · · ΗΡΩΣΧΡΗΣ
Τ .. ΧΑΙΡΕ

XIII.

ΔΑΜΑΣΙΑΣ
ΤΙΜΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

---

[2] The Thessalian Æolic form of
ΚΛΕΙΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΥ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩΙ.

[3] ΑΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ. [4] ᾽ΑΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ. [5] ΑΡΤΑΛΟΥ.

[6] ΕΡΜΑΩΙ ΧΘΟΝΙΩΙ.

XIV.

ΠΥΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ
ΓΥΝΗ ΑΝΤΙΓΟ

XV.

ΕΥΤΥΧΙΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑ
ΤΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΗΡΟΣ
ΧΡΗΣΤΗ ΧΑΙΡΕ

XVI.

At Platamóna.

ΜΕΝΑΡ.

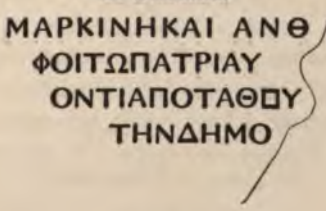
XVII.

At Kitro (anciently Pydna).

ΑΦΡΟΝ
ΤΙΔΙΤΗΙΔΙ
ΑCΥΜΒΙΩ
ΜΝΕΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ

XVIII.

At Salonika.



XIX.

At Dhrama.

ΓΑΙΓΙΟΣΓΗΔΙΤΑ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ

XX.

At Amphipolis.

ΡΕΝΤΟΥ ΤΩΝΠΙCΤΟΙ
ΝΙΚΟΥΣΙΛ

XXI.

At Erissó (Acanthus).

ΟΡ
ΑΗ
ΑΚ

Very large letters on a rough stone.

XXII.

Vodhená (Edessa).

ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΓΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝΟΣ
. . . . . ΜΕΘΟΝΑΔΟΥ
ΜΕΘΟΝΑΔΗΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΗΡΩΣΙ

XXIII.

At Kekhropúla, near Vónitza (Myrtuntium).

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΧΡΟΥ

XXIV.

On the Aqueduct of Nicopolis.

ΩΡΩΠΩΠΟΤΑΜΩ
ΚΑΘΙΕΡ(Ω)ΣΑΝΕΥΧΑ

These words are part of an inscription on a portion of the aqueduct of *Nicopolis*, where it crosses the river of Luro upon a double tier of arches, not far below the principal source which supplied the aqueduct at a distance of about thirty miles from *Nicopolis*. We learn from this monument that the river of Luro, which, although one of the principal streams of Epirus, has not been noticed by any ancient author, was called Oropus. Oropus however having been the name of a town in several parts of Greece, and in no recorded instance that of a river, there is some reason for believing that in the present instance the name was common to the river, and to a town near its sources in Mount Oly'tzika; of which the walls are extant near the modern Ferikísi.—See Travels in Northern Greece, i. pp. 221, 224, 260.

XIV.—REMARKS ON AULIS, MYCALESSUS, AND SOME PARTS OF EUBŒA.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT SPRATT, R.N., TO COLONEL LEAKE, DATED MALTA, JANUARY 26, 1846; WITH SOME NOTES BY THE LATTER.

(Read Feb. 26th, 1846.)

During the month of July last, and a part of August, whilst the *Beacon* was lying at Chalcis, the currents at the bridge (of the Euripus) were watched night and day: the result confirms the remarks of the Père Babin.[1] The regular and irregular tides follow the phases of the moon, changing four times a day during spring tides, or new and full moon: once during the irregular tides the current was observed to change six times between 6 P.M. and 11 h. 15 m. It then ran for about three hours and a half to the northward, and after flowing for half an hour to the southward, ran north for three hours more. It then flowed for nearly seven hours to the southward, and during the next six hours changed *seven times*. It is thus evident that the tide-wave in the Mediterranean is not sufficiently high during neap tides to overcome the influence of local winds and currents.

I have had no opportunity of examining the country

[1] See Spon, Voyage, &c. ii. p. 195. Wheler's 'Journey into Greece,' p. 458.

beyond the pass under Mount Ktypá by which you descended to the Euripus; but I have carefully gone over the two ancient sites which you suppose to be Aulis and Mycalessus, and I think there is every appearance that there were two distinct cities in those places.

As you did not visit the ruins on the hill between the two bays of Megálo and Mikro Vathy', I will describe their character. They form an irregular fortress encircling the summit of the hill, which is exceedingly rugged and uneven, and the approaches are steep and difficult on all sides. The walls are without towers, and constructed of unhewn blocks loosely piled, as in the early Cyclopean style, although not of that massive character which is seen in cities of greater note and wealth. This is evidently the more ancient of the two ruins in question, and appears to have been merely the acropolis of a city, which, no doubt, stood on the slope of the hill below, between the heads of the two bays; as here I found some traces of buildings, fragments of pottery, and a well near them.

It is quite clear that Strabo alludes to the northern of these two bays, the Mikro Vathy', as the port of Aulis which could hold no more than fifty ships; and that the Megálo Vathy' is the *βαθὺς λιμήν*, in which he supposes the greater part of Agamemnon's fleet to have taken shelter. The identity of the former is próved by its size; that of the latter, by its name. The city must have been contiguous; and where more probably than on the hill which separates the two bays, upon which are found the ruins above described, and which corresponds in its rocky nature to the *Αὐλὶς πετρήεσσα* of Homer?

To satisfy myself, however, whether there was any

such connection between the ruins upon the Megálo Vouni, which rises immediately from the head of the Mikro Vathy', and those between the two ports of Vathy', as could justify the supposition that they formed one town, I ascended the Megálo Vouni from the head of Mikro Vathy', and found the hill so steep that I was nearly three-quarters of an hour in reaching the ruins. I could discover no wall, road, or remains of any kind tending to show that this city was connected with the port of Aulis; but, on the contrary, I found that the principal gate was at the opposite end of the city, and that from thence there was a wall and a road leading down towards the large bay on the south side of the Euripus: the wall, however, descends only to a pass under the gateway at the western end of the city, through which passes the modern road from Oropó to Chalcis. But the ordinary approach to this city was undoubtedly on the side opposite to the port of Aulis, from the plain and great bay south of the Euripus: there is an indentation in this bay which may have been the port of Mycalessus, and near it stood most probably the temple of Ceres Mycalessia.

Pausanias says that in his time the inhabitants of Aulis were few, and that they were potters. It seems not very likely that these few inhabitants, who were gaining a subsistence by manufacturing earthen pots, should, as Dr. Wordsworth (page 7) supposes, have perched themselves upon the summit of an arid limestone mountain, nearly 2000 feet above the sea, notwithstanding that a few fragments of pottery, as he remarks in confirmation of his opinion, may be found there.

The distances from the Hermæum on the Euripus to Mycalessus and to Aulis, namely, sixteen stades to

the former,[2] and three Roman miles to the latter,[3] agree pretty nearly with the two ancient sites; but on the other hand, the passage in Thucydides leads one to infer that Mycalessus was situated more inland, from the two marches made by the Thracians, and the surprise of the inhabitants at finding themselves attacked by a maritime people.[4]

It is said "that the city was easily taken because the walls were low and fallen in some parts, and the

[2] Thucyd. vii. 29. [3] Liv. xlv. 27.

[4] Probably Lieut. Spratt had no means of referring to the text of Thucydides, and was obliged to trust to an imperfect translation. Thucydides does not say that the Thracians under Diotrephes made two marches from the shore to Mycalessus, but that in their passage by sea from Athens to Chalcis, they landed, and hastily plundered the Tanagræa: *ὁ δὲ* (Diotrephes) *ἔς τε τὴν Τάναγραν ἀπεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἁρπαγήν τινα ἐποιήσατο διὰ τάχους*: nor does he say that the Mycalessii were surprised at finding themselves attacked by a maritime people; but that Diotrephes, having crossed the Euripus from Chalcis into Bœotia for the purpose of leading the Thracians against Mycalessus, lay hid in the evening at the Hermæum, which was sixteen stades from Mycalessus, and the next morning advanced against the city, which was not large, and took it, the inhabitants being unguarded, and little expecting that any one should advance against them from the sea, where the ascent was so steep, their wall being moreover not strong, in some places ruined and in others low, and the gates having been left open from a sense of security. *ἐκ Χαλκίδος τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀφ' ἑσπέρας διέπλευσε τὸν Εὔριπον, καὶ ἀποβιβάσας ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Μυκαλησσόν. Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα λαθὼν πρὸς τῷ Ἑρμαίῳ ηὐλίσατο· (ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Μυκαλησσοῦ ἑκκαίδεκα μάλιστα σταδίους·) ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πόλει προσέκειτο, οὔσῃ οὐ μεγάλῃ, καὶ αἱρεῖ, ἀφυλάκτοις τε ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτοις μὴ ἄν ποτέ τινα σφίσιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τοσοῦτον ἐπαναβάντα ἐπιθέσθαι, τοῦ τείχους ἀσθενοῦς ὄντος, καὶ ἔστιν ᾗ καὶ πεπτωκότος, τοῦ δὲ βραχέος ᾠκοδομημένου, καὶ πυλῶν ἅμα διὰ τὴν ἄδειαν ἀνεῳγμένων.* Thucyd. VII. 29.

For the reasons for placing Mycalessus at Megálo Vouni, with a sketch of the sites of Mycalessus and Aulis, see Travels in N. Greece, ii. p. 251.

gates left open." The outer wall at these ruins corresponds with this description, and, being built of loose stones, of ordinary dimensions, could not have been carried to that height which was customary where walls were built of hewn stone. In the latter manner the acropolis was constructed; but this was taken because "the gates had been left open." On the whole, therefore, these ruins, as well by their situation and importance, as by their construction, agree with Mycalessus.

I next examined the wall extending from the city westward, and found that it crossed all the intermediate passes and summits to the foot of Ktypá, where you met with it. I did not follow it the whole way, but so far as to satisfy myself that it was not connected with any other city, but merely a wall to shut up the passes, or to leave the defence of such as were kept open entirely in the hands of the inhabitants of Mycalessus.

I do not think there ever was a carriage road over any of these passes, but that the chief route from Chalcis to Thebes, Oropus, and Athens, passed round by the port of Aulis; for the ruts of chariot wheels are very distinct all round the bay of Vourko nearly to that port. Equestrians and pedestrians may have had a shorter road through these passes.

My next object of search was the site of Harma. After much inquiry from the peasantry, I could hear of only one place at which ruins existed besides the two noticed above, or at which it was probable that such a city as Harma could have stood. I was directed by them all to the neighbourhood of a small hamlet called Retzióna, about three miles due west of Megálo Vathy´; and here I found, on one of the roots of the

high peak next to Ktypá, to the south, foundations of the defensive walls and other buildings of an ancient city. They are situated upon a sloping platform, about 100 feet above the plain, with a part of the ridge rising higher behind them, but upon which there was no acropolis or ruin: on the other three sides the approach was steep. The only ruin standing is a Christian church, near which is a well or spring; the site appears to have been long deserted: the principal character of the ruins is what we commonly term of the middle ages, but there are other vestiges which denote an earlier occupation, and I have no doubt but that here stood Harma. A fine country lies to the south and west of the city as far as the torrent of Platanáki. Carriages are now driven from Thebes to the village of Retzióna on their way to Chalcis. The road is not yet complete over the hilly ground between Retzióna and the Megálo Vathy', which is its intended route: it will then follow the ancient chariot road by the coast.

I shall now cross into Eubœa, and speak of the few ancient remains and localities of interest which we have visited there.

At Chalcis nothing new was discovered during the survey of the town and neighbourhood; the modern fortifications and habitations having completely swallowed up the vestiges of this once populous and extensive city. At one of the groups of rock-tombs adjoining the paved road at the foot of Mount Kalogheritza, the following inscription has been discovered upon the face of the rock, which had been cut smooth for the purpose; but the mountain having been at some recent period violently disturbed by an earthquake, the rock has been rent and cracked in several

places; one of the cracks having passed through the inscription, and caused a displacement of a few inches.

The inscription was accidentally seen and copied by Messrs. Mansell and Chapman whilst riding along the paved way from Chalcis to the plain of Lelantum, and I cannot learn that it had ever before been observed or copied, although it was evidently placed to be conspicuous to those who passed along the road.

+ΚΥΓΟCΧΑΝΝΟΙ + ΙΗCΘΑΛΑCCΗCΕΝΘΑΔΟ
ΚΑΙΤΩΒΥΘΩΑΙΔΩCΙΝΑCΦΑΛΗΤΠΒ...Ν
ΧΕΡCΩΝΓΟΡΕΙΘΡΟΝΚΑΗΕΩΝΤΕΧΝΗCΒΙΙΧ
ΠΟΚΥΜΑΡΕΥCΤΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΝΑCΤΑΤΟΝCΑΛΟΝ
ΚΛΕΙΝΟCΘΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΡΟCΟΙΚΕΟΙCΠΟΝΙCΙ.·.
ΟΠΡΩΤΟCΠΑΟΑΡΙΟCΕΛΛΑΔΟΚΛΕΩC
+ΙΟΡ +ΜΧΝΟ

I had no opportunity of copying the inscription myself; but one of the gentlemen who made the copy observes, that "the inscription is very rudely cut, and very weather-worn, rendering it impossible to be certain of many of the letters."[5]

In the autumn I was employed upon the topography of the southern part of Eubœa, which enabled me to examine some of its ancient sites. Whilst exploring the neighbourhood of Eretria, I fell in with an ancient road which had been enclosed, like the Piraic road, between walls: these I traced from the city to the beginning of the plain of Vasilikó. The walls were substantially built of rectangular blocks, 5 and 6 feet thick, 10 to 17 feet apart, with towers or gateways at distant intervals. Near Eretria they are

[5] It is hoped that a more correct copy of this inscription will shortly be obtained.

in the best state of preservation, and can be traced without any interruption for more than a mile; in one or two places, two and three courses of the blocks are still above ground. Nearer the plain of Vasilikó, they appear to have been constructed of unhewn stones. In this road we have a confirmation of the historical records respecting the warfare and animosity which existed between the two neighbouring cities of Chalcis and Eretria. Such a work was necessary to the Eretrians: as a great part of their territory skirted the shore, the inhabitants labouring in it were continually liable to be surprised, and the tillage to be destroyed by the incursions of their powerful rival; more particularly in that part of the territory which is known to have been a frequent scene of contention between them. The connection of Eretria with the plain of Vasilikó by these long walls tends strongly to confirm your opinion as to the identity of this territory with the disputed plain of Lelantum.

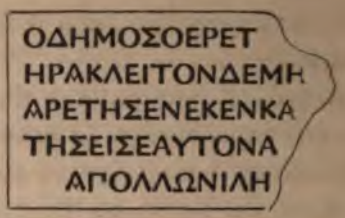
The ruins at Eretria consist of an ancient mole, the walls of an acropolis upon a rocky hill of marble, and considerable vestiges of the city lying in the plain between it and the ancient port. Excepting the walls of the acropolis, the theatre is the only ruin standing; but this is so covered by soil and bushes, that a few of its seats only are visible, and it cannot be measured with any accuracy. It exceeds 250 feet in diameter; it is peculiar from having been partly sunk below the surrounding level, whilst the upper half was raised above it.

The remnant of the Ipsariots, after the massacre in their island, settled here and commenced building a town; but subsequently quitted the new colony in consequence of malaria and disputes with the govern-

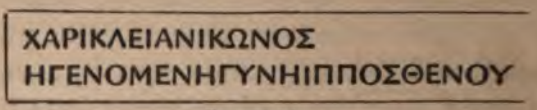
ment: they are still unsettled, and scattered through the Greek Islands.

To the eastward of Eretria, a wide valley enters from the sea between Mount O'lymbo and Mount Vathy', but it contains no ruins of an ancient character except near the shore, at the angle of the bay to the east of Eretria, where are some ancient foundations appearing in the face of the bank: these may possibly mark the site of Tamynæ.

Cotylæum was a hill near Tamynæ, dedicated to Diana. A small eminence, about a mile from the above spot, and the only height near it, rises a few feet above the stony talus which slopes from the foot of O'lymbo to the sea, and is surrounded by scattered blocks of some ancient edifice, and five or six fragments of columns: these may be remains of the temple of Diana. There is no habitation near it; the district remaining untilled, and overgrown with brushwood. On the shore, at the east end of the plain of Vathy', stands a low hill, with a small fortress of the middle ages upon its summit, and around it are the ruins of eight or nine Christian churches. One of these has been handsomely painted within, and appears to be of an early date. The materials of which these churches were built, namely, marble fragments and wrought blocks which had belonged to older edifices, denote that the position was once occupied by the ancient Greeks. The inhabitants call it the Palaiá Khora, and it seems to correspond to the old Eretria of Strabo. I could find no inscription here; but at another church, similar to those above mentioned, about one mile and a half more inland, I found a fragment built into the wall, with the following lines upon it:



and lying on the ground, about 100 yards from the church, a marble, upon which was the following inscription:



Four feet long.

The ancient road from Chalcis to Kárysto passed along the shore at the foot of Mount Vathý: as this mountain is steep and rocky, and presses upon the shore, this part of the road was paved, but it is now much broken up, and is hence called the Kakí Skala.

Olivéri is the next town near the coast: it contains no ruins denoting the existence of an ancient place, but merely the lower part of a small square tower.

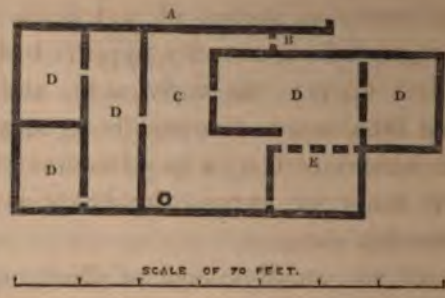
On the south side of this bay there is a well-built Venetian pyrgo, and a small fortress on a hill, of the same date.

The ancient Dystus is identified by some ruins near the modern village of Disto. The district of Disto is an inland basin of an irregular form, which is completely enclosed by mountains. About half of the valley is consequently covered with water, except in very dry seasons: during the past it was perfectly dry. About the centre of the valley, and on the edge of the

marsh, there rises an abrupt conical hill of marble, between 400 and 500 feet in height. The upper part of this hill is enclosed by the walls of the ancient city, in an unusual state of preservation, being as perfect as the walls at Rhamnus, but more extensive: the style of masonry is the same, excepting that these are more massive, and contain a greater mixture of the polygonal. The place had two gateways, both of which are perfect; one of them is as follows:

Gateway 8 feet wide.

Within the walls I found several ruins of habitations of a ruder style of structure, but which must be of a contemporary date. Some were merely square, others with two compartments, the walls of which were as high as the doorways. One ruin particularly attracted my attention, being of a more complicated form, and composed of seven compartments, with nearly all its walls from 6 to 10 feet high, and its doorways erect. I have never before met with a ruin of this style of architecture in so perfect a state, and consider it curious and interesting, as a specimen of one of the better sort of habitations of the Greeks in early times.



A. The rock cut smooth,—forms the back of the building.
B. The entrance by a passage, with niches over and on each side of the doorway.
C. A court with a cistern in one corner, which is sunk deep into the rock.
D. The different apartments.
E. The partition between these two rooms is formed of three detached upright blocks, over which are placed two large slabs, one 9 feet long; the openings between the upright blocks admitting both light and a view over the plain beneath.

Sketch of a piece of one of the walls, with a door.

At the east end of the city there is a platform, supported by a massive Cyclopean wall, intended apparently for the situation of some building, such as a temple. As there are no remains of columns, the temple may have resembled that which still exists upon the summit of Mount Ocha, above Kárysto.[6] The Greeks have a small shrine or chapel here, which

[6] In consequence of a most unjust and unfounded remark of the late Professor Ulrichs in the 'Annali del Instituto Archeologico di Roma,' vol. ii. p. 5, I addressed some inquiries to Lieutenant Spratt concerning this temple on Mount Ocha, and have received from him the following in reply: "I had no idea that the existence of the

makes the former existence of a temple probable. Judging from the ruins, the city appears to have been long neglected during the early ages, and to have again become inhabited in the middle ages, as the top of the hill is surmounted by a small fortress and also a high square tower or pyrgo, the latter being most likely of Venetian date.

The site of the small village of Disto appears to have been the ancient place of sepulture: it is distant about half a mile to the south of the ancient city, and several tombs have been at different times opened there. Upon a sepulchral tablet from one which had been recently opened was the following line:

ΡΗΣΤΑΓΟΡΑ (Χρησταγόρας).

I found no ruins or indications of ancient sites before arriving at Stura. The deep inlet of Armyró Potamó takes its name from a brackish stream which flows into the head of it.

The ancient name of Styra is preserved in that of

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temple seen and described by Mr. Hawkins * was ever doubted, and therefore said nothing about it in my letter, although I had seen it. Having visited the summit of the mountain in October last, I can bear testimony to the accuracy of Mr. Hawkins's description, with which I was struck, the moment I saw this interesting ruin. Its situation is in a hollow between two huge rocks of gneis, each 35 or 40 feet high, and to the shelter it has derived from them is owing probably its singularly perfect condition. The view from this mountain is not surpassed by any in the Archipelago. Both the eastern and western faces of the mountain, at about 1000 feet below the summit, are clothed with a grove of chestnut-trees, with rather stunted heads and branches, but enormous trunks."

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* Walpole's Collection of Memoirs in European and Asiatic Turkey, Part II. p. 285.

the modern Stura, now applied to an island which was anciently Ægilia, and to a small village situated about two miles from the sea: the ancient city of Styra most likely stood at the south-east corner of the bay, where are some ancient vestiges and tombs.

At Stura commence the marble quarries for which the district of Kárysto was once celebrated. It is evident, from their number, that the ancients have derived from hence a large supply of marble; for the quarries occur along the whole face of the mountain between Stura and Kárysto; and this part of the coast must then have presented a scene of great activity, where now all is sterile and uninhabited.[7]

The height of these quarries may vary from 500 to 2000 feet above the sea; in some of them are columns, ready cut for being transported, and exceeding 30 feet in length. In the vicinity of Kárysto there are several columns of a greater length, either wholly or partially extracted from the rock; and it is a matter of surprise to contemplate the difficulties which must have stood in the way of their transport to the coast from their elevated position.

I here close my remarks for the present year, hoping in the next to have something to communicate of greater interest.

[7] The Carystia supplied the ancients with more than one kind of marble; but the quarries alluded to by Mr. Spratt are those of the Cipollino, as the modern Italians denominate the marble found in great quantities at Rome and on other ancient sites, from the resemblance of its laminæ to the coats of an onion. In consequence of a suggestion from me, Mr. Spratt, on his return from Greece to Malta, procured some specimens of the ancient Cipollino, and immediately recognized its identity with the marble of which he had visited the quarries between *Styra* and *Carystus*.

XV.—THE BUDRÚM MARBLES.

BY W. R. HAMILTON, ESQ.

(Read March 26, 1846.)

The recent acquisition by His Excellency Sir Stratford Canning of the Budrúm or Halicarnassian marbles, and the circumstance of their being already on their way to England, have naturally excited the curiosity of the public as to their early history, the state in which they were found, the circumstances by which they have become English property, and, above all, their value as works of art. Several statements to this effect have appeared, from time to time, in the public papers; but none are so satisfactory as they might have been: for example, one of the most recent would lead us to suppose that the earliest mention of these marbles was a slight notice in the 2nd vol. of the 'Ionian Antiquities,' published in 1797, by the Society of Dilettanti, with two drawings by Myers;[1] and subsequently a note in the 3rd vol. of Dr. E. Clarke's Travels. Other communications have de-

[1] These drawings, or the engravings by Byrne, were given to the Society of Dilettanti by the late Sir R. Ainslie, Bart.: one of them is a view of the port and town of Halicarnassus; the other represents the interior of the castle, with the sculptures built into the walls.

scribed them as being a still more recent discovery;—the real fact being, that the whole of these ancient fragments, now on their way to England, or very nearly the whole, twelve at least out of the fourteen which are announced, were seen by Messrs. Dawkins and Wood, on their way from Palmyra in 1749 or 1750, and were also seen, drawn, and engraved, within a very few years of that time, by Richard Dalton, who was one of a party of English travellers then engaged with Lord Charlemont in exploring the coasts and islands of the Archipelago.

The accompanying Plates, executed by Dalton, were in part the results of this expedition; and I have much pleasure in laying them on the table of the Royal Society of Literature, that some opinion may be formed of the subject to which they relate, the apparent state of preservation the marbles were in, a hundred years ago, and the style of art to which they seem to belong. The drawings from which these engravings were taken can scarcely have been very correct copies of the originals. The difficulty of getting a favourable view of blocks of marble built into the walls of a fortress,—the jealousy of the Turkish soldiers, who would unwillingly have witnessed foreign travellers prying into their fortifications,—and particularly the want, a century ago, of that critical skill and accuracy, in giving to the representations of such works on paper the real character of the antique, would all contribute to prevent the drawings from being a very faithful transcript of what they professed to delineate: but enough is to be made out of them to prove, on the most cursory view, that they are not of archaic art, not of the character of the Egina statues. Instead of the hard and dry style, which is visible in the monuments of Egina, those of Budrúm,

as far as we can judge from the engravings, will be found to partake much more of the florid and almost meretricious character, and affected flow of drapery, and refined minuteness of execution, which prevailed at a later period of Greek art, probably 100 years, or more, later than the sculpture of the Parthenon; during which interval Greece fell from her high estate of liberty, independence, and power; and frequently became the willing slave of the gold of Persia and of Assyrian effeminacy: that period of art, namely, which coincided with the birth and reign of Alexander. Nor is there any fair ground for doubting that these marbles from Halicarnassus were really part of the sculptured decorations of the celebrated tomb of Mausolus, king of Caria, who, after a prosperous reign of twenty-four years, during which he had enriched that city with many splendid buildings, mentioned or described by Vitruvius and others, died in the 4th year of the 106th Olympiad, or about 354 years before our era, just two years after Alexander was born. The fact of the erection of the Mausoleum to the memory of this king by his wife and sister Artemisia, and the commission given by her to the four eminent sculptors of the time to decorate his monument with the finest specimens of their art, namely, Scopas, Leochares, Bryaxes, and Timotheus, or as some say, in lieu of the latter, Praxiteles, need not be repeated here.

Two ancient writers, Pytheus and Satyrus, are said to have composed descriptions of the tomb of Mausolus; Cicero, Vitruvius, Strabo, Valerius Maximus, Propertius, and many others, speak of it in general, but laudatory, terms: Pliny the elder alone gives a detailed account of it, so as to enable us to form to ourselves a notion of its size, character, and distribution. Accord-

ing to this author[2] it formed a parallelogram of thirty-six columns: of the four sides, those to the north and south had an extent of 63 feet—the other two sides were of minor dimensions; the whole circumference — including, of course, the base on which it rested— measuring 411 feet. Above the entablature was a pyramid equal in height to the body of the building, and divided into twenty-four steps, on the top of which was a marble quadriga by Pythis; the extreme height of the whole structure being 100 feet. Of the manner in which this monument was decorated, we are only told, as above, that four of the most eminent sculptors of the age were employed by Artemisia for this purpose.

Pliny does not acquaint us on what part or parts of the building their works were placed; he only says, they each took one side: *i.e.* "ab oriente cœlavit Scopas, a septentrione Bryaxes, a meridie Timotheus, ab occasu Leochares." But, from all we know of the practice of the ancients, in structures of these great dimensions, we can scarcely doubt but that they were affixed to the frieze of the building, between the architrave and cornice— called on this account the Zophorus. And when these marbles arrive in England, we shall be able to form a more correct judgment of the state of art at the time we are speaking of; but whether what we are to have be the work of Scopas or Timotheus, or of either of the other two, must still remain in obscurity, until, perhaps, time and further researches in Halicarnassus shall reveal to us some other fragments from the same source. But even at the present moment I have a strong conviction that we already possess more of these very Mausoleum sculptures than is generally supposed; and these are amongst the bas-reliefs recently

[2] Lib. xxxvi. sect. 30.

brought from Xanthus, for which we are indebted to the exertions and intelligence of Sir Charles Fellows. A considerable portion of these Xanthian marbles—the largest, I mean, measuring 3 feet or 3 feet 3 inches in height, and representing generally combats between Greeks and Asiatics, (I am not alluding to those battle-scenes from the same quarter, on parts of which are represented the walls of a besieged town, probably Xanthus itself,)—seems to me to bear such a strong general resemblance to the engravings of the Budrúm marbles now on your table, that I am much inclined to believe that they originally came from the same place; that is, that in some period of the declining Roman empire, when Halicarnassus, either by earthquakes or revolutions, was laid in the dust, Xanthus, still rich, flourishing, and powerful, purchased or plundered the relics of her neighbour's former greatness, and appropriated them to serve a purpose similar to that for which they had been first made, *i.e.* for the decoration of the monument of one or other of her own heroes, tyrants, or patriots. I am, indeed, assured by the best authority, that those fragments of Xanthian bas-reliefs which answer to these observations, were certainly not originally made *for* the monument, close to and under which they were found by Sir C. Fellows.

I have already brought this conjecture before the Royal Society of Literature, in an address which I was permitted to make to them at the Anniversary Meeting in 1843, when I did not anticipate that the hypothesis would so soon be put to the test. But I did not on that occasion exhibit these engravings; so that there was no opportunity for the Society to form to itself any precise opinion on the subject. In addition to these points, I have also received permission from my

esteemed friend, Mr. Wm. Meyers, who formerly held the office of Secretary to the Government of the Ionian Islands, to read to you the letter addressed to him by Mr. Alison, the gentleman employed by Sir Stratford Canning to superintend the removal of the marbles in question from the walls of the Castle of Budrúm, and their shipment on board of H. M. S. *Siren*. Mr. Alison's description exactly corresponds with Mr. Myers' drawings, and with the printed notice, by Mr. Dalton, of what was done and seen in 1751 or 1752; namely, that there were eleven fragments within the Castle—promiscuously stuck, as Mr. Dalton says, in the walls, which, by such an accident, are most fortunately preserved; and a later traveller says also, that there were three on the outside. (See 'Travels of W. J. Hamilton in Asia Minor,' vol. ii. p. 33.)

I have placed also on your table the 26th vol. of the 'Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,' (p. 321,) in order that you may examine the opinion entertained by the Comte de Caylus in 1753, of the form and appearance of the tomb of Mausolus. This was one of the earliest attempts of modern antiquaries to restore the monument; but it erred in many points, and few will agree with his reasons for surmounting the entablature and ceiling of the body of the building with a *double* pyramid. The Comte de Caylus thought this interposition was required to make the dimensions given by Pliny agree with one another; but he adopted a wrong reading of his author, which gave 140 feet, instead of 100 feet, for the whole height; and there is nothing else in Pliny's words to warrant the assumption; which is also at variance with other monuments of antiquity of the same general character and purport. There is a

more successful attempt to restore this structure, though founded on the same data, in the 1st vol. of the Travels of M. de Choiseul Gouffier, Paris, folio, 1782, Plate XCVIII. But this traveller, who visited the place in 1776, was not able to gain admittance into the fortress, and, therefore, did not see the marbles of which we are speaking.

I have, on a former occasion, hinted that the idea of this tomb of Mausolus seems to have been borrowed by the architect of St. George's church, Bloomsbury, which was begun in 1705, and consecrated in 1730.

I would also call the attention of the Society to another engraving given by the Comte de Caylus, in the same volume of the 'Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions,' representing an ancient tomb near Constantina in Algeria. It is one of many proofs of the general conformity of the tomb of Mausolus to the sepulture of eminent personages of antiquity. I did not, however, propose to illustrate the tomb itself, but merely to enable this meeting to form for themselves a general notion of the style, age, and purport of the sculptures, which are supposed to have constituted its principal decoration.

XVI.—AN ATTEMPT TO POINT OUT THE VASES OF GREECE PROPER WHICH BELONG TO THE HEROIC AND HOMERIC AGES.

BY THOMAS BURGON, ESQ.

(Read May 23, 1844.)

MEMORANDUM TO ACCOMPANY A DRAWING OF THREE VASES, (SEE THE PLATE,) NUMBERED 239, 90, AND 224, FORMING PART OF A COLLECTION NOW DEPOSITED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM; AND OF SUNDRY FRAGMENTS, &c.

No. 239.—Vase found in a tomb at Athens, by M. Fauvel, the resident French Consul.

No. 90.—Vase found by Mr. Burgon, at Athens, in a grave cut in the rock, by the side of the road leading to the Academy.

No. 224.—Vase found in a tomb at Melos (Insula) and brought thence by the Rev. F. V. J. Arundell, when Chaplain to the English Factory at Smyrna.

A. B. C.—Three fragments of Pottery, with spiral lines, picked up by Mr. Burgon at Mycenæ in Argolis.

D.—Fragment of Pottery, picked up by Mr. Burgon, among the ancient tombs (or rather tumuli) of Cyclopean architecture, which are supposed to indicate the site of Tantalis, near Smyrna.

E.—Coarse Vase of black earth, about eight inches high, without ornament, found with No. 90.

F.—Coarse Vase of red earthenware, with zigzag lines scratched on it. This vase was about one foot three

inches high, and contained a few burnt bones nearly decomposed. It was also found with No. 90.

G.—Coarse Amphora of yellow earthenware, without ornament. The mouth had been anciently broken off, and was not found. The bottom of the amphora was pointed, and it contained slight traces of burnt bones. Its height, without the mouth, was 2½ feet, and its original use was probably for wine. Found also with No. 90.

H.—Ornament on an Athenian Vase in the possession of Mr. John William Burgon, from the collection of the late Mr. Thomas.

I.—The pattern of the spiral ornament on the Slab with the Discs, from the Treasury of Atreus, now in the British Museum. (*Synopsis, No.* 177, *Elgin Room.*)

There is a well-known class of pottery, found in Greece Proper, concerning the age of which antiquaries are not agreed. Some assign it to a remote period, while others are inclined to regard it as an ordinary or cheap kind of earthenware, of a comparatively late time.

The ground of this pottery is of the natural colour of the clay, varying from a whitish yellow or pale ochreous colour, to a light brown.[1] These various tints of the ground are generally more or less ornamented with zigzag, spiral, or numerous parallel lines, bands, concentric circles, meanders, and various other forms, of a tawny red, or brownish colour, sometimes merging into dusky black, and frequently showing both the tawny red, and the black colour, on the same specimen.[2]

[1] According to the locality from whence the clay was procured; and probably, depending also on the furnace of the potter.

[2] This variation in the colour of the ornamental design is merely

The object of this short essay is to connect *the more ancient specimens* of this class of earthenware with the period of Cyclopean architecture, and by that means to show approximately,

1st. That this pottery belongs to a very remote period of Grecian History, coeval with the heroic ages; and thereby,

2ndly. To oppose the supposition that the precious fragments of green and red marble now in the British Museum, forming part of the ornamental facing to the entrance and doorway of the building called the Treasury of Atreus, at Mycenæ, *may be* sculptures of the Byzantine times.[3]

It will be conceded, without difficulty, by mere inspection, that the vases and fragments before us (see the Plate), from the mere fact of the similarity and peculiarity of the manufacture and style of the ornaments, form or belong to *a class* of pottery *apart*, and are incontestably separated from the various classes of Greek vases which are painted black, and are well known to belong to subsequent periods.

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occasioned by different degrees of heat of the potter's furnace, combined with the greater or less quantity of the pigment used. Long observation enables me to state that this pigment was somewhat analogous, in its colour and consistence, to tar, or molasses, which, when laid on thin, is tawny, but if applied thick, is black. An attentive examination of vases will disclose a fact not generally suspected, namely, that it is essentially *one and the same pigment*, which was used in painting and ornamenting Greek vases *in all ages*; but of what this pigment was composed I believe no one knows.

[3] "Ces fragments, qui portent en eux un caractère d'analogie avec certains détails de l'architecture Indienne & Égyptienne, peuvent bien aussi être des restes Byzantins, & avoir appartenu aux nombreux établissements religieux dont la Grèce a été couverte."—'Expédition Scientifique de Morée;' fol. Paris, 1833, p. 154, vol. ii.

This kind of pottery is moreover entitled to the distinction of *a separate class*, from its presenting us often with *peculiar and primitive forms*, in which may be traced the germ, or prototype, of the later and more elegant shapes with which we are more familiar. At the same time, we are enabled to conclude that this class is not the inferior earthenware of a comparatively late period, from having found, in the same grave, specimens of the most coarse and ordinary manufacture, as well as of the more elaborately finished and ornamented kind.[4] These considerations, therefore, incline us to regard this pottery as forming a class *per se*, which we will endeavour to show is not only of very remote antiquity, but belongs to a definite period of Greek history and art.

Before entering on this question, however, it is absolutely necessary to warn the reader against expecting *demonstration* in an inquiry like the present. Let the nature of the case be fairly considered, and he will not look for stronger arguments than such as we shall have to offer—such, in fact, as the nature of the case admits. We can adduce nothing but *probabilities*, which will appear stronger or weaker as the reader approaches the subject with or without preparation; or again, as he reads with an unprejudiced or a prejudiced mind. The utmost which we propose to ourselves is, to show *a high degree of probability;* and this, in the absence of an equal degree of probability on the contrary side, should be satisfactory. "It becomes the man of education," remarks a great philosopher of antiquity, "to require, in any particular department, only such a

[4] The vase No. 90, and E. F. G., were all four found in the same grave, together with the two-handled cup mentioned at page 289, note 61.

degree of accuracy as the nature of the case admits. To require demonstration at the hands of an orator, is evidently about as unreasonable as allowing a mathematician to talk of a thing being probable." [5]

We proceed to remark on the ancient vases under consideration.

It has been stated that the characteristic and most usual ornaments of the *earliest* specimens which have been discovered of this style of pottery, are *numerous parallel lines, bands, zigzags, spirals, concentric circles, &c.* Such ornaments on a Greek work of art, are, in themselves, a proof of remote antiquity; for they must, in the very nature of things, be regarded as exhibiting the *earliest* efforts of graphic skill, and we know that representations of men, animals, and other objects, were introduced *exceedingly* early. There are, indeed, but two possible ways of accounting for such rude representations:—it is the rudeness arising from remoteness of origin, or from carelessness of execution. Now it is not the rudeness arising from carelessness of execution; for the vases in question were evidently made with considerable skill. The ornaments upon them show a very careful, and even a very experienced hand. The patterns run exactly round, and fill the prescribed spaces. They not unfrequently display great archaic elegance, and sometimes abound in studied and minute embellishments. Generally, therefore, as already hinted, it may be asserted—1st, from the style of manufacture; 2ndly, from the style of painting (ornaments traced with a black pigment on the natural

[5] *πεπαιδευμένου γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τἀκριβὲς ἐπιζητεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον γένος, ἐφ' ὅσον ἡ τοῦ πράγματος φύσις ἐπιδέχεται· παραπλήσιον γὰρ φαίνεται μαθηματικοῦ τε πιθανολογοῦντος ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ ῥητορικὸν ἀποδείξεις ἀπαιτεῖν.*—Aristot. Eth. Nic. I. 1. (ed. Bekker.)

colour of the clay); 3rdly, from the shapes of the vases; 4thly, from the peculiar style of ornament adopted; 5thly, from the combination of these several features, with the evidence of care and skill;—from these considerations, I say, it may be asserted, *generally*, that the monuments in question belong to a very remote period of antiquity.

But it may well be inquired whether they are not assignable *particularly* to some definite period; or, at least, whether by a careful review of all the circumstances bearing on the case, it may not be possible to confine their date within certain probable limits. Now, it has been already suggested that the monuments in question are the works of the age called "heroic;" and, in order to connect vases of this early class with the remote period to which I think they may be fairly considered to belong, it becomes necessary to advert first to the finding of the fragments A. B. C.

A little south of the southernmost angle of the wall of the Acropolis of Mycenæ, is a small sloping plot of tilled ground,[6] which, when I was there in 1809, was *remarkably* strewed with small fragments of ancient pottery; and observing that, with respect to colour and style of ornament (which consisted chiefly of spiral lines), these fragments were quite unlike those which I had generally noticed in the neighbourhood of Athens, and other ancient sites, I was induced to pick up and preserve the three fragments in question. It may be thought that these three fragments exhibit the spiral

[6] See a most accurate plan of the Acropolis of Mycenæ, and of the country around it, in Gell's 'Itinerary of Greece,' (Argolis,) 4to, London, 1810; Plate III. page 28, where this small plot of tilled ground is readily observable, about 150 yards nearly east of the Treasury of Atreus.

ornament too imperfectly; but as they happen to be the only specimens which I picked up and preserved, that circumstance *now* can only be regretted. We rely on the testimony to be cited presently in support of the fact; and in referring during the course of this inquiry to the fragments A. B. C., we would rather be understood as referring to the vases of which they formed parts, or to other fragments left behind in abundance, which would have answered our present purpose better than these, by exhibiting more distinct spiral, as well as zigzag lines.

I thought then, and my later experience fully confirms me in the opinion, that the plot of ground on which I was standing, was one of the most early burial-places of the inhabitants of Mycenæ;[7] the fragments having been evidently *turned up on the spot* by the plough, and broken from time to time by the operations of husbandry. In fact, the rains of 2600 to 3000 years, had washed away so much earth from this sloping plot of ground, as nearly to lay bare the vases in the graves, and thus to expose them to the action of the plough or the spade.

It is curious that the late Sir William Gell, many years before my first visit to Greece, had been struck, as I was, *on the same spot*, by the colour, style, and quantity of the fragments of pottery which he observed. In his work just referred to in a pre-

[7] It is well known that the cemeteries of the Greeks were situated *outside* the walls of their towns. But this plot of ground seems to be situated within the boundary of the city, between the foot of the Acropolis and the ravine. It is therefore conjectured to have been *one of the most early burial-places* of Mycenæ, and was probably used when the Acropolis alone was inhabited, with perhaps some portion of the ground in the neighbourhood of the gate of Lions. See note 63, page 291.

ceding note, he says (at page 42), "At an angle of the fortress [Acropolis of Mycenæ], on the south, overlooking the ravine and torrent, is a great quantity of broken pottery, both in black varnish and white, with spiral lines of a brown colour, which seem to have been the favourite ornament at Mycenæ."

These words show that this distinguished traveller and antiquary connected in his mind *these fragments of pottery* with some remarkable *remains of sculpture*, which he had previously observed, and which he mentions in the following words, at page 29:—"The front [of the Treasury of Atreus] appears to have been cased with *green* and *red* marble, with spiral and circular ornaments. Near the door, observe a semicircular pilaster, and its capital, very curiously carved in spiral and zig-zag lines." He gives a careful representation of this capital in Plate VII. of the same work, and also of an ornamented slab of *red* marble observable in the wall of a small Greek chapel close by. [8]

Two broken slabs, forming part of the same ornamental facing to the exterior of the doorway of the Treasury of Atreus,[9] are to be seen in the British Museum. They owe their preservation to Lord Elgin. One is of green marble, [10] and exhibits a row of spiral

[8] This slab also formed a portion of the casing of the doorway of the Treasury, and unerringly connects itself with the capital, or base, (which is of *green* marble,) by the very peculiar forms of the ornaments observable on both, as well as by the material of which both specimens are formed, although of different colours.

[9] See the very remarkable architectural details of this ancient construction, in the 'Description of the Subterraneous Chamber at Mycenæ, commonly called the Treasury of Atreus,' with five Plates; by T. L. Donaldson, Esq., in the supplementary volume to the 'Antiquities of Athens,' by Stuart and Revett; large folio, London, 1830.

[10] About 3½ feet long.—*Brit. Mus. Synopsis, No.* 177, *Elgin Room.*

ornaments [11] above a row of flat circular objects, or discs. The other slab [12] is of red marble, and presents us with three rows of the same spiral ornament, of which the middle row is in higher relief and of rather larger size than those above and below it, and somewhat differently treated, particularly *in having had a small boss or stud in the centre of each spiral, probably of marble of some other colour, or perhaps of bronze.* [13] These two highly interesting fragments have been engraved in the work of another learned traveller in Greece, as well as the pilaster and base (or capital) before mentioned. [14] In speaking of the Treasury of Atreus, Mr. Dodwell describes these fragments as follows:—"Some masses of *rosso antico*, covered with spiral ornaments, and a columnar pilaster and its base, are seen lying among the ruins near the gate;" [15] and at the next page, he says, "the pilaster and its base are of a soft green stone, singularly enriched with spiral and zigzag ornaments, of an Egyptian rather than of a Grecian character."

[11] The pattern of these spiral ornaments is shown at I. on the Plate which illustrates this Paper.

[12] About 3 feet long.—*Brit. Mus. Synopsis, No.* 180, *Elgin Room.*

[13] This peculiarity is not marked at fig. 10, in the Plate IV. (copied chiefly from the Elgin drawings), which illustrates Professor Donaldson's elaborate work just referred to.

The large French work, 'Expédition Scientifique de Morée,' fol. Paris, 1833, Plate LXX., presents us with the same sculpture, copied from Donaldson, and consequently repeating the omission of the peculiarity in question. It is only in Dodwell's 'Tour in Greece,' 2 vols. 4to, London, 1819, that tolerably correct representations of these fragments are given in a wood-cut at page 232, vol. ii.

[14] Dodwell, vol. ii. page 232. See the wood-cuts and two copper-plates.

[15] *Loc. cit.* page 231.

Again, when pointing out the interesting discoveries which might be made by excavating at Mycenæ, he says,[16] "Vases would be discovered in great quantities if we may judge from the numerous fragments which are seen scattered on all sides; they are generally of a coarse earth, and the spiral and zigzag ornament, which is sculptured on the marbles near the Treasury of Atreus, is observed on most of the fictile fragments found among the ruins. These ornaments are generally painted black upon a yellow ground."

We have thus the unexpected testimony of this learned and observing traveller, in addition to that of Sir Wm. Gell, in full confirmation of the main point before us.

We may here advert, for a moment, to the architectural doubt[17] which we proposed at the outset to notice, as it involves *the antiquity* of these sculptured ornaments from Mycenæ. It is true that the learned writer's words, "*peuvent bien aussi être des restes Byzantins*," merely imply a passing doubt, which does not amount to an opinion, and is, moreover, unsupported by the least shadow of proof, or even by a bare probability urged in its behalf. Such a doubt, under other circumstances, would not have required notice; but, occurring as it does in a work of importance, which may be *quoted hereafter as authority*, the remark claims a few words in this inquiry.

Sir William Gell, and Mr. Dodwell, are not the only learned archæologists who saw parts of the facing of the doorway of the Treasury of Atreus *in situ*, and who have recorded their opinions of its antiquity. We find in Colonel Leake's account of the Treasury

[16] *Loc. cit.* page 237.

[17] See note 3, page 260 of this Paper.

of Atreus the following words:—"On the outside, before each door-post, stood a semi-column, having a base and capital not unlike the Tuscan order in profile, but enriched with a very elegant sculptured ornament, chiefly in a zigzag form, which was continued in vertical compartments over the whole shaft. These ornaments have not the smallest resemblance to any thing else found in Greece, but they bear some similitude to the Persepolitan style of sculpture. On my former visit to Mycenæ, there were several large fragments of these semi-columns lying on the ground: I can now find only one or two very small pieces."[18]

The united testimony which precedes, not only confirms the hitherto undoubted antiquity of the marble facing around the doorway of the Treasury of Atreus, but traces a connection between the sculpture and the pottery, the antiquity of which latter is beyond all doubt: some weight must therefore be accorded to this testimony. But perhaps,—after duly considering that these sculptures are confessed, on all hands, to be *unlike any thing elsewhere extant*, and that their style has been considered to resemble that of Egypt, Persepolis, or even India,—the best testimony of their remote antiquity may be afforded by the two precious fragments themselves, in the Elgin Room of the British Museum, where they are daily before our eyes.

The ornaments on both these slabs are in very low relief. The design is elegant, and by no means devoid of *the germ* of that strength and gracefulness which were so characteristic of Grecian sculpture in a more

[18] Leake's 'Travels in the Morea,' 3 vols. 8vo, London, 1830, vol. ii. page 374. See also Donaldson (*loc. cit.*), where a confirmatory *architectural opinion* of the antiquity of this marble facing will be found.

advanced stage; yet, on these two marbles, there is distinctly perceptible *a peculiar feebleness of execution*,[19] which I look upon as indicative of the remote period, to which I think they must certainly be considered to belong; and which, at the same time, I regard as the standing proof of their antiquity. Until, therefore, a Byzantine work of similar style be pointed out, we may dismiss the supposition that this marble facing *may be Byzantine*, as totally gratuitous and untenable.

A slight inspection of the face of the building, more especially of the surface *above the lintel of the doorway*,[20] proves that it was *originally* cased; and why the casing *found there* should not belong to it, I am at a loss to imagine.[21] It is not more singular that the

[19] A combination of beauty of design and feebleness of execution, in some respects analogous to that here pointed out, is perceptible in the marble fragment preserved in the Royal Museum at the Louvre, published by Millingen, 'Ancient Unedited Monuments,' second series, Plate 1. page 1. The learned Author of that valuable work regarded that marble as perhaps the oldest extant specimen of Greek sculpture. I humbly think that he might have assigned it, without fear, to a period at least a century higher than he has done.

[20] See Gell's Argolis, Plate v., and Donaldson (*loc. cit.*), Plate 1.

[21] If it be a Byzantine usage to face buildings with precious materials, it will not help the supposition in question, for the same usage is by far more common in the remotest periods of antiquity. The Pyramids of Egypt, among numberless examples which might be adduced, were all faced inside and outside with a finer kind of stone than that of which they were constructed; and I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Bonomi, the well-known Egyptian traveller, for the information that there is a chamber where *a coloured facing* has been used, in the step Pyramid of Sakkara, which still retains a good deal of its blue porcelain (or enamelled) incrustation, laid over fine limestone. There are also tombs at the same place, built of crude brick, and the interior of the walls incrusted with large slabs of fine limestone, on which are painted sculptures. The late discoveries of M. Botta at Nineveh show the same usage.

exterior of this most ancient construction should have been originally faced (or cased) with decorative marble of various colours, than that the interior should have been entirely covered with another material, which has long since totally disappeared. This material, with high probability, has been unanimously supposed to have been *plates of brass*;[22] the brass nails, and nail-holes, remaining still, up to the apex of the interior, in regular positions.[23] On the whole, the evidence afforded by the union of these different considerations, induces me to regard the sculptures in question as forming *part of the original design* of a building of the period of the Atreidæ.

It would be out of place, in this short essay, to enter into any details concerning the foundation and early history of the extant ruins of Mycenæ, or to advance any arguments in support of the general truth of the approximate chronology, which refers those remains to the period of the heroic ages. Fully convinced myself on these heads,[24] I desire rather to cite the recorded opinions of others who have visited and examined the spot, and whose well-known classical and antiquarian acquirements render their testimony ample and sufficient.

[22] Thus realizing the ancient accounts of *subterraneous* brazen chambers.—See Leake, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. pages 380–382.

[23] See also Gell's Argolis, Plate iv. and page 30.

[24] When, with some previously acquired knowledge of the relative ages of the different styles of building existing in Greece, one contemplates, *on the spot*, the remains of Mycenæ, with the narrative of Pausanias in mind, one assents very readily to the general truth of his account; and finds nothing forced in the opinion, that *eight centuries, at least*, may well have elapsed between the date of the construction called the Treasury of Atreus, and the building of the Parthenon.

Colonel Leake says of Mycenæ,[25] "The entire circuit of the citadel still subsists, and, in some places, the ruined walls are fifteen or twenty feet high. There are found among them, specimens of Hellenic masonry of various ages. The most ancient parts, although not so massive as the walls of Tiryns, are built exactly in the same manner. . . . The later reparations of the walls may easily be recognized: with this exception, every thing left at Mycenæ dates from the heroic ages."

Again, speaking of the Treasuries, page 385, he says, "As to their having been the Treasuries of the Atreidæ, it was a tradition which had descended to Pausanias in an unbroken series; and as there is no reason to doubt that they were built for the purpose which the Greek name implies, it is no more than consistent with the history of Mycenæ, to believe that the largest, or that which is nearly complete, was the Treasury of Atreus himself. . . . It is by no means improbable, that one or two of these edifices may have been more ancient than Atreus, and works of the Perseidæ."—"Nothing can more strongly show the extreme antiquity of the remains at Mycenæ, and that they really belong to the remote ages, to which they are ascribed by Pausanias, than the singularity of some parts of them, and their general dissimilarity to other Hellenic remains." In addition to what Colonel Leake has stated, the observations on this celebrated site, in Mr. Dodwell's work,[26] will be found to deserve a careful perusal; as will also the remarks of Sir William Gell,[27] and the ancient testimonies quoted by

[25] 'Travels in the Morea,' vol. ii. pp. 368–369.

[26] 'Tour in Greece,' vol. ii. pp. 229–243.

[27] 'Argolis,' pp. 31–35.

each. These able judges all concur in showing that the construction, called the Treasury of Atreus, as well as the rest of the existing remains of Mycenæ, except some later reparations of the walls, are works of the heroic ages.

Independent of the evidence of an early abandonment of the city, afforded by the present state of the ruins, it is known from history, that when Mycenæ was taken, B. C. 468, [28] by the Argives, the place was utterly destroyed and depopulated. More than one-half of the inhabitants took refuge in Macedonia, and the remainder in Ceryneia and Cleonæ. [29]

A *gradual decline*, however, in the power and wealth of Mycenæ, long previous [30] to its final overthrow and depopulation, B. C. 468, may be inferred from the fact of there being no coins of that city; [31] and perhaps

[28] Clinton, 'Fasti Hellenici,' vol. ii. p. 36.—Diod. Sic. XI. 65. Cf. also Strabo, VIII. pp. 372 and 377.

[29] Pausan. Achaic. c. 25.

[30] Strabo dates the decline of Mycenæ from the return of the Heraclidæ.—Lib. VIII. p. 372.

[31] In like manner there are no coins of Tiryns, although coins exist in abundance of Argos and Corinth, safely attributable to a period anterior to the final destruction of Mycenæ and Tiryns. It appears therefore highly probable, that at the period of the dominion of Phidon of Argos (Strabo, lib. VIII. page 358) over the Peloponnesus, B. C. 748, (Clinton's Fasti Hellen. vol. i. p. 160,) the power and influence of Mycenæ and Tiryns had so far declined, as to deprive those cities of the privilege, or the need, of having a mint; while Corinth and Argos were flourishing, and striking money. The *most ancient* coins of the two last-named places most probably date very soon after the period of Phidon, who is stated by Strabo (lib. VIII. page 376), on the authority of Ephorus, to have coined the first silver money [of Greece] at Ægina. The inland position of Mycenæ, among other causes, may have induced this decline; while Argos and Corinth, situated near to the coast, were more advantageously placed for commerce.

the small number of its inhabitants who fought at Thermopylæ[32] and at Platæa,[33] may furnish a ready clue to the exterminating victory of the Argives over them. It is well known, that coins are found of many cities, which are stated by ancient authors to have been destroyed in early times: such coins, therefore, proceed from a later population; and if any such had existed of Mycenæ, it might have been argued that the fragments of vases in question, as well as the sculptures, belonged to the period of the later inhabitants; but as no coins of Mycenæ have been hitherto found, that fact may be regarded as a strong evidence that the city was never inhabited after the destruction and depopulation recorded by the ancient authors cited in the preceding notes. Moreover, the tenor of history leads us to infer, that the policy and power of Argos would have been always opposed to any re-building or repeopling of Mycenæ.

It will be here perceived, that the object of the facts, the historical evidence, and the observations which precede, has been—

1st. To connect the fictile fragments A. B. C. with the period of Cyclopean architecture, by means of the locality where they are found in such abundance.

2ndly. To circumscribe their age within the period of the duration of Mycenæ. In other words, to fix the range of their date between the years B. C. 1400 and B. C. 500, in round numbers: and—

3rdly. More particularly to connect them with the epoch of the building called the Treasury of Atreus, by means of the peculiar style of the ornaments, com-

[32] Pausan. Corinth. c. 16.

[33] Herodot. lib. IX. 28.

mon to the sculptured facing of the Treasury, and to the pottery.

I now proceed to pass in brief review the opinions and inferences which are embraced under these three heads, chiefly in order to meet the more obvious objections which might be advanced against them, previous to endeavouring, in conclusion,—

4thly. To show, by analogy, and by other circumstances, that we may reasonably infer that vases dug up at other places, *in Greece Proper*,[34] or in the islands of the Archipelago, having the same style of ornament, and being of the same ancient fabric, belong to the same period.

1. We find no locality in Greece so suited to the object of this essay as Mycenæ. In general terms, all the remains are Cyclopean. We see in its huge walls, formed rather of squared rocks than of stones, as well as in its singularly constructed *bee-hive like* and massive treasuries,[35] the remains of a city, which, ac-

[34] In the prosecution of this particular inquiry, it is safer to exclude the pottery of Sicily and Magna Græcia, because in judging of the age of vases chiefly by the similarity of the style of the ornaments and of the style of the manufacture, it seems indispensable to the correctness of our conclusions that proximity of locality should be a condition. Moreover, the most ancient pottery from Sicily or Magna Græcia which ever fell under my observation, does not appear to me to belong to so remote a period as the pottery represented in the Plate.

[35] I cordially coincide in the opinion expressed in a recent interesting work, ('Peloponnesiaca,' 8vo, London, 1846, pp. 255-258,) that these treasuries *are not tombs*; and I would moreover add, that if any future discovery should prove any one of them to have been *used as such*, I should only infer from such a fact, that at the period of the deposit, the original use of the construction was forgotten or disregarded. The light thrown upon the *brazen chambers* of the Mythic Period of Greece, by the remarks of Sir Wm. Gell, Colonel

cording to the soundest archæological opinions, may be pronounced to accord with the accounts which refer its origin to the heroic ages.

On this ancient site, in every direction where patches of soil have tempted the labours of the modern husbandman, the attention of the traveller is continually arrested by the sight of innumerable fragments of pottery, turned up on the spot, and broken by the spade or by the plough.[36] He further perceives that all these fragments present a certain uniformity of colour and appearance which differs remarkably from the mixed character of those which he has observed in the neighbourhood of other Hellenic sites. From this peculiar and strong circumstantial evidence, he readily comes to a conclusion, *when on the spot*, that the pottery strewed on all sides belongs to the same period as the architecture around him.

2. It is readily admitted, that the period of 900 years, from B. C. 1400 to B. C. 500, in round numbers, however needful as a preliminary basis, is by far too wide a range to satisfy the proposed inquiry as to the age of these fictile fragments. It is obvious that they cannot be considered to belong to the whole of the period during which *Mycenæ existed as an inhabited city*, since it might be argued with considerable force and truth, that such a style of art in the manufacture of pottery could not, in the nature of human events, be

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Leake, and Mr. Dodwell, on the Treasury of Atreus, in their respective works before quoted, sufficiently show that Treasuries were not tombs.

[36] It would be erroneous to suppose that these fragments have lain on the surface of the soil, as rubbish or *débris*, for 3000 years. They indicate the sites of cemeteries, so ancient, as often to be *within the boundary of the city*, and have been turned up at a comparatively recent period. See note 7, page 264.

expected to continue during such a long series of years.

This consideration alone, were there no other motives, would lead us to look to the shorter and more natural period *during which Mycenæ flourished*, as the epoch of this pottery; for, as before remarked, the primitive style of the ornament precludes its duration for a long period; and on the other hand, plots of ground embracing the entire site, are more or less strewed with fragments similar to those before us, and bearing that style of ornament.

3. If it be said that the occurrence of spiral and zig-zag lines, as sole or chief embellishments on the pottery and on the sculpture, is too vague or too slight a proof of an approximately contemporaneous execution, I can only urge in reply, that the coincidence occurring in the same locality, and under all the circumstances narrated, appears to me, as it appeared to Sir William Gell and to Mr. Dodwell, too remarkable an indication of proximity of period, to be mistaken by any one used to the study of works of ancient art, especially as it is not intended thereby to fix the age of any given specimen with precision, but merely to show approximately that such pottery belongs to the same remote age as the sculpture.

The structure called the Treasury of Atreus must date somewhat anterior to B. C. 1200.[37] It unquestionably belongs to the flourishing period of Mycenæ; and its elaborate and remarkable marble facing has therefore unexpectedly preserved to us the style of

[37] Clinton ('Fasti Hellenici') places the accession of Agamemnon B. C. 1200.—The triangular opening above the lintel of the doorway of the building is analogous in its construction to the triangular apertures above the entrances to the Pyramids of Egypt.

ornament of the heroic ages. We find to this day fragments of vases turned up by the plough, within a few hundred yards of that building in every direction,[38] and upon those fragments we remark the same style of embellishment which we find on the marble. Can any thing short of demonstration better enable us to form a conclusion that both are referable to the same period, and that a century, or at most a century and a half, is the greatest possible difference in age between the sculpture and the pottery?

If it be said that in the order of events, the fragments in question might rather belong to the last inhabitants of Mycenæ than to those of the earlier ages, we answer: 1st, that we cannot admit the duration of the use of the same style of ornament for above seven centuries; and 2ndly, that such an opinion would be opposed to the knowledge which we already possess of the fabric and style of vases in use in Greece, at the period of the destruction of Mycenæ, and earlier.

The vases to which I here allude form *a second class*. They present us with archaic black figures, on a ground of the natural colour of the clay, although the body of the vase is painted black, and has often a black star-like ornament[39] proceeding upwards from the foot of the vase. The older specimens of this second class may

[38] Colonel Leake ('Travels in the Morea,' vol. ii. p. 383) remarks, that some *ploughed* land on the slope of the hill, on the opposite side of the city, *west* of the third Treasury, (*see his Plan of the site of Mycenæ*,) was strewed with ancient pottery, and hence infers that the city covered the slope towards the plain. The pottery probably marks the line of the extent of the city in that direction, being indicative of a cemetery immediately outside the town, on the *western* side.

[39] This star-like ornament is common to the later vases of the primitive class, and the earliest specimens of the second class.

very safely be considered to extend above a century earlier than the destruction of Mycenæ, to B. C. 600, to which period, *at least*, I would unhesitatingly assign the well-known Athenian Panathenaic amphora,[40] now in the British Museum.

[40] This important vase has been many times published and engraved, but chiefly by Millingen ('Ancient Unedited Monuments,' 1st series, pp. 1–10, Plates I.–III.), and by the Chevalier Bröndsted, in his 'Dissertation on Panathenaic Amphoræ,' in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' vol. ii. Part I. 1832, page 134. The former (probably influenced by his view of the inscription) assigns it to a period anterior to B. C. 562, and the latter to a period "not anterior to the first half of the fifth century B. C." But looking upon Athens as the source of Art and Literature, and considering with care the *style of the manufacture* of this vase, and the *style of art* displayed on it, I venture, with all deference to such high authority, to assign it to a far earlier period, on the following grounds: First, it appears to me that in judging of its age, the important difference between a Panathenaic prize amphora, found and manufactured *at Athens* itself, and those found *in Italy*, manufactured *there* at a later period by Athenian colonists, has been much overlooked. Secondly, that the distinguishing peculiarities of the Athenian amphora, *necessarily original*, are all indicative of a remote period; while the few of these peculiarities that are retained on the colonial amphoræ, indicate, evidently, a style of imitation of which the Athenian specimen must necessarily be the prototype. Among the distinguishing peculiarities to which I allude, as indicative of a far earlier age, on the Athenian vase, (and which have not been copied by the colonists, for the obvious reason that civilization had advanced several grades when the colonial vases were made,) I would notice the following: 1. The almost *Phœnician forms* of the Archaic Greek letters, *written from right to left*. 2. The *absence of reins to the horses*, which are guided by a long wand furnished with two jingling objects pendant from a hook at the end of it, and which, if dropped between the heads of the horses, upon a strap which served to keep them together, furnished a ready means of restraining or stopping them at pleasure. 3. The use of the goad, to urge them forward; the effect of which is visible in the purple indication of blood on the horse's flank. 4. The primitive construction of the wheel, which, instead of spokes, has one upright and two transverse bars. 5. The

Ascending a century higher, I completely coincide with Mr. Dodwell in the opinion he has recorded[41] respecting the age of his celebrated vase found near Mertése,[42] and which he considers as dating about

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style of art in the representation of Pallas-Athene, and in forming the eye of the charioteer like the eyes of the horses. 6. The style of *the vases found inside* the Panathenaic amphora, and on which no stress has hitherto been laid. See 'Mémoire sur les Vases Panathénaïques, par P. O. Bröndsted, traduit de l'Anglais, par John William Burgon;' 4to, Paris, 1833, avec six planches; in which, at Plate v. figs. 1–6, these six vases are represented.

These peculiarities might not perhaps be so important, had the vase belonged to any city in Greece except Athens, or had it not been destined to be presented *as one of the public prizes* in the Panathenaic games. On these grounds, even the error in the inscription (*if it be an error*) may be urged as a proof of the *infancy of writing* when the vase was made; and finally, our attribution of it to *at least* B.C. 600, may be supported by two additional and separate arguments. The first, derived from the age of the primitive coin of Athens, now in the British Museum, and engraved at the end of the Dissertation on Panathenaic Vases, by the Chevalier Bröndsted, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. This coin must be referred to a period anterior to B.C. 600, and on it is represented a vase of *precisely similar form in every minute particular*. The second, derived from the age of *the colonial* Panathenaic amphoræ themselves, which cannot be placed later than B.C. 450–500, and which the Athenian specimen must have preceded *at least* 100 to 150 years.

[41] Dodwell (*loc. cit.*), page 199. "It is difficult, and indeed impossible, to determine its age: the style of the design, however, but more particularly the very ancient and curious form of the letters, induces me to place it about 700 years before the Christian era."

[42] The relative positions of Mycenæ, Corinth, and Mertése, form nearly an equilateral triangle, the latter place being towards the sea coast. Colonel Leake makes the following remark on this locality: "The ancient cemetery between Mertési and Galatáki, where a very ancient vase was found, which Mr. Dodwell procured at Corinth, belonged probably to Solygeia."—(*Loc. cit.* vol. iii. p. 309.) See also his map of the Morea in vol. i.; and cf. his *Peloponnesiaca*, page 398.

B. C. 700.[43] It may be regarded as safely claiming *at least* that high antiquity, and is one of the oldest inscribed[44] vases bearing an historical representation of high and delicate finish, which ever fell under my observation.

This most important specimen of the art of design at so early an age, is described and carefully represented in colours, in the work before mentioned.[45] It is of singular importance to us in this inquiry, not only because it was found so near to Mycenæ,[46] but because it belongs to the primitive class of vases of which we are speaking, and moreover is to be regarded

[43] On comparing Mr. Dodwell's vase with the Athenian Panathenaic amphora, I think the former may be anterior to B. C. 700. Both are carefully finished specimens, and both are inscribed. I do not venture, however, to assume an earlier date in the absence of any other evidence than that derived from a long habitual exercise of the judgment in the comparison of ancient monuments, but I think B. C. 700 as low a date as can be assigned to Mr. Dodwell's vase with any fair degree of probability.

[44] We may observe in the style of art of the human figures, as well as in the forms of the letters,—the position of the sigma,—the occurrence of the koph, &c., a strong resemblance to the incuse coins of Sybaris, Crotona, Metapontum, Caulonia, Posidonia, &c., &c., in Magna Græcia. These colonies were planted between B. C. 710 and 774, for the most part by Greeks from the Peloponnesus, and some of them from the immediate neighbourhood of the locality where the vase was found. Millingen (Considérations sur la Numismatique de l'ancienne Italie, 8vo, Florence, 1841, and Supp. 1844,) refers some of these coins to B. C. 620, 680, and 700.

[45] Dodwell (*loc. cit.*), pages 197-199, vol. ii.

[46] Mertése is only fifteen miles from Mycenæ. It adds much to the value of a comparison of vases, when the specimens compared are from the same neighbourhood, the uniform tendency of my experience having led me to consider vases to have been manufactured at, or near to, the places where they are found, except some valid objection can be shown to the contrary.

as *a transition specimen*,[47] approximately marking,—conjointly with the *Athenian* Panathenaic amphora,—the period when this primitive class, which, for the sake of distinction, I would call the Pelasgic,[48] or Heroic, merged into the second class, which may be designated as the earliest Hellenic.

If, in accordance with Mr. Dodwell's opinion, and my own best belief and judgment, the period of B.C. 700, be received as the lowest probable age of the precious vase before us from Mertése; and if, in con-

[47] The characteristics of transition on this precious vase are the letters,—the human form,—and the style of heightening the effect of the flowers, animals, &c., by scratching through the colours into the body of the vase. These peculiarities, in general, belong exclusively to vases of the second class. On the other hand, the body of the vase is *entirely* of the natural colour of the clay, which attaches this specimen to the primitive class. The transition style is moreover marked by the star-like ornament springing from the foot, which is a peculiarity decidedly common to both classes. See further, note 51, page 283.

[48] There seems to be no valid objection to the adoption of the words *Pelasgic* and *Hellenic*, to distinguish the two earliest classes of Greek vases. In so doing, I do not venture on the very dubious ground of attributing the primitive class to the Pelasgians exclusively, as specimens of *their* pottery. It may be said of the Pelasgians and Hellenes, as of the two classes of vases,—both are Greek. The elder merged into the later. The Pelasgians are indisputably connected with Cyclopean masonry;—so is the primitive class of pottery. Again, we can trace and point out an approximate period when the primitive pottery ended, but we can by no means discover its beginning, or limit *the age upwards* of certain specimens:—it is the same with the Pelasgic race. We shall find presently, that Athens has hitherto been the most fertile source, for the discovery of vases of the primitive class, under the north side of the Acropolis;—the Pelasgians were the builders of the Cyclopean wall round the Athenian citadel, which was, even in after times, called by the ancients "The Pelasgic Fortress." See Leake's 'Topography of Athens,' 2nd edit. 8vo, 1841, vol. i. pp. 309–313.

formity with the conjecture already hazarded, the age of the fragments A. B. C. is to be comprised between B. C. 1200 and 1100, we have discovered, by comparing vases from the same locality, and of careful finish, that there is an interval of four centuries between those ornamented with zigzag and spiral lines, and those presenting us with an archaic representation of a wild-boar chase, with the name of each huntsman *written*[49] near him.

Nor, on due consideration, will this interval appear too long. It is probable that transitions in the style of ornament on earthenware, were never rapid, either in ancient or comparatively modern times.[50]

We will now endeavour, lastly, to strengthen our attribution of zigzag and spiral ornaments to B. C. 1200 to 1100, by pointing out the chief characteristics of *three different grades of style* with respect to *art*, and connected also with *form*, observable on vases found in Greece Proper, which obviously intervene between the two extremes just pointed out, and fill up the interval of four centuries—that is to say, which must be classed between the assumed dates B. C. 1100 and B. C. 700.

They may be approximately classed as follows, viz.:

[49] See Bishop Thirlwall's 'History of Greece,' vol. i., end of chapter vi., on the art of writing.

[50] The red Roman pottery, of the class called *Samian ware*, seems to have lasted, without much alteration, from before the time of Julius Cæsar till after Constantine; as well the unornamented, as the sort called *sigillata;* and it is very difficult to fix dates to specimens of the middle period. I have seen in Italy *dated specimens* of the earthenware called Raphael's ware, or *Majolica*, from about A. D. 1400 to A. D. 1650, which exhibited marked uniformity in style and fabric, although certainly, without the dates, the earlier and the later specimens could be distinguished. It is probable, that during the feudal ages in Europe, the style of the earthenware varied very little.

I. Meanders;—certain Ornaments;—certain Borders;—certain Symbolical Representations;—as well as real objects. B. C. 1100 to 900.

II. Combinations of any of the above with Floral Representations, Birds and Animals;—real, as well as imaginary or mythological. B. C. 1000 to 800.

III. Combinations of any of the above with the Human Figure, or Groups;—and with the occasional introduction of letters. B. C. 900 to 700.[51]

The arrangement of these dates is, of course, only approximative; and has been contrived with a view to meet in some degree the difficulty of attempting to define, or assign periods to, grades of style, which must always have had a natural and strong tendency to merge into each other.

4. If it be true that zigzag or spiral ornaments, together or separate, as chief embellishments, are characteristic of the carefully finished, or better sort of pottery of the earliest periods of Grecian history, it

[51] The shield of Achilles and other descriptions in Homer would favour *earlier* dates for the human figure; nevertheless it does not occur on pure specimens of the primitive class. On the whole, *this third grade of style* may be better regarded as indicative of *the period of transition*, during which, not only the introduction of the human form, and of letters, took place, but also the improvement of heightening the effect of the old representations of flowers, birds, and animals, by *scratching through the colour into the substance of the vase*, with a sharp instrument; which style of art is never found on true specimens of the primitive class which forms the object of this Essay. At page 200 of Mr. Dodwell's work just mentioned, there is a Plate of *a second vase* from the same ancient cemetery at Mertése, perhaps a little older than the other. It has *no star* proceeding from the foot, and though highly finished, is merely ornamented with lions, stags, and flowers, and concentric circles on the knob of the lid. This specimen also belongs to the transition period, the representations being heightened by the scratching process.

might be expected that vases so ornamented would be occasionally discovered on all the ancient sites in that country, especially where Cyclopean masonry exists.

It would be also reasonable to expect that *the finding* of such pottery might sometimes be attended with circumstances indicative of its remote antiquity.

Unfortunately the complete and satisfactory elucidation of each of these two assumptions has been always rendered difficult. First, by the almost insurmountable obstacles which have at all times opposed themselves to excavations on remote sites in Greece; — secondly, by the comparative degree of rarity of the specimens themselves,[52] and the general omission to notice or publish the facts of their discovery; and thirdly, by the little interest felt by collectors in general, for the acquisition of vases of this class, in consequence of the total absence of the human form upon them,[53] and even the rare occur-

[52] I had ample opportunity of verifying the fact of the rare occurrence of tombs containing this class of vases at Athens; not only by my own excavations, but by a careful examination of the collection of M. Fauvel, the resident French Consul, which comprised the general product of nearly all the Athenian tombs which he had explored during a long course of years. I examined also the collection of Sig^{r}. Lusieri, who had in like manner for many years directed excavations among the tombs for Lord Elgin. The result satisfied me of the rare occurrence at Athens of undisturbed graves and unbroken vases of such remote antiquity, which is precisely what might be expected in the cemeteries of such a populous city, where each succeeding generation, in turn, was so likely to break into and disturb anterior deposits.

[53] Even Mr. Dodwell, when at Mertése,—after giving an interesting account of his successful discovery of the site of the sepulchres which produced his celebrated vase, and which were *graves cut in the*

rence of animals, or any thing beyond mere conventional ornaments.

As far as I was enabled to carry my personal observations and inquiries on these points, they tended to confirm the truth of the main position before us. Nothing that I ever remarked or heard of[54] militated, in any way, against it. It is, however, an open question, the solution of which these remarks are rather intended to draw attention to than finally to settle: in the mean time, the dearth of knowledge on the subject inspires me with a wish to record the little which I have been able to glean, in the hope of aiding the researches of those who may hereafter be

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live rock,—dismisses *other vases of the same class* in the following words: "The other cottages exhibited vases of *the same kind*, but without any *figures* on them, or any thing which rendered them interesting in themselves."—Page 196, vol. ii.

[54] I must not omit here to notice that in excavations near Vulci, made by Sig^{r}. Campanari, tombs have been found which contained vases attributable to remote epochs, mixed with others of a class considered to belong to comparatively recent periods. This anomaly at first sight tends to confuse and puzzle the judgment as to their respective ages. In conversing, however, lately with Sig^{r}. Campanari on this apparent difficulty, he informed me that the tombs in question ought rather to be called *sepulchral chambers*, and had entrances *like the door of a house*. In ancient times, the sanctity of the original deposit had been violated, and the tomb used again by a later class of inhabitants, who still, however, had respected the vases originally deposited. This appropriation of ancient tombs to the use of the people of a later age was much facilitated by the entrances having been, *in those times*, still visible and easy of access. This fact gives to the contents of the single and separate *graves* of Greece Proper, a great preference in comparisons of the style of vases found together, and in drawing inferences as to their relative ages. Millingen alludes to this very important fact: see his Papers in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' vol. ii. Part 1. 1832, pages 77 and 78, and vol. ii. Part 11. 1834, Supp. pages 7–9.

enabled to excavate at Mycenæ, Tiryns, Argos, Corinth, Thebes, Orchomenus, or any other place in Greece where Cyclopean masonry is observable.

Hitherto, Athens has been the principal locality where excavations have been permitted. Here, numerous very curious specimens of early pottery of this class have been from time to time discovered by M. Fauvel, the resident French Consul.[55] Of several which he obligingly ceded to me (now deposited in the British Museum), one has been chosen for the Plate, as exhibiting a fine characteristic specimen of the zigzag ornament, with numerous parallel lines, but without any spirals, and is numbered 239 on the Plate. Concerning the finding of this primitive specimen of Athenian earthenware, M. Fauvel could give me no particulars. It is of carefully finished manufacture, and covered with embellishments, and its prototype (so far as regards this individual specimen) was evidently a small basket, or vessel of wicker-work, of about the same size. This is fully evinced not only by the style of the ornaments throughout, but by the form of the body, as well as the peculiar shape of the handles, and also by the design of the ornament *at the bottom, especially outside.*

I will not venture to draw any inference from this peculiarity, except that this remarkable indication of a transition from basket-work to pottery,[56] on a specimen of *Greek fictile art,* seems in itself to furnish

[55] Representations of three of these vases, which I saw at Athens, in the collection of M. Fauvel, are preserved in the work of Baron Stackelberg, entitled 'Die Gräber der Hellenen,' Berlin, folio, 1837, at Plate IX.

[56] A *style of ornament* referable to wicker-work as a prototype, is not by any means confined to this vase, but rather seems to characterize certain specimens of this early class of vases. It is, however,

an independent argument in favour of its belonging to that people when lately emerged from a primitive state of society.

In like manner, as regards the discovery of the earthen vessel, No. 224 on the Plate,[57] I can say nothing, except that the Rev. Fr. V. J. Arundell, from whom I had it, informed me it was found at Milo (Melos Insula) in a tomb. It exhibits the spiral ornament very clearly, as well as concentric circles, and belongs to the same early class. It shows that the characteristic ornament on the pottery of Mycenæ is not peculiar to that locality.

On a vase of the same class,[58] a border, of the natural size, is represented in contrast with the spirals on the slab before mentioned,[59] at H. and I. on the Plate, merely to show the identity of motive on the pottery and on the sculpture.

The triple-mouthed vase, No. 90 on the Plate, presents us not only with zigzags and bands, but also with the somewhat rude indication of the same kind of double or continuous spiral visible on the marble, as shown at I. on the Plate. It was found near Athens, and I myself directed and superintended the excavation which led to its discovery; the particulars of which are too remarkable to be passed over without giving the facts in detail.

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only on this specimen that I have been enabled so distinctly to trace *the form, as well as the ornaments*, to its wicker prototype.

[57] Now deposited in the British Museum, numbered 224, from *Melos Insula*.

[58] In the possession of my son, from the collection of the late Mr. Thomas Thomas, and which I recognize to be Athenian.

[59] In the Elgin Room of the British Museum. See note 10, page 265.

Having perceived, at about half a mile from Athens by the side of the road which leads to the Academy certain indications of the rock having been smoothed by the hand of man, where it projected here and there from the surface of the soil, I ordered an excavation to be made on the spot. We soon found an oblong opening, squared at the angles, indicative of a grave cut in the live rock. When the men had dug, however, with pickaxes, and with great difficulty, to the depth of a few feet, the foreman of my excavations (an Athenian husbandman, of great experience, wearing the Albanian dress, and who had been employed by M. Fauvel for many years in exploring tombs,) came to me and assured me that it was of no use to dig further on that spot. He said he recognized the earth to be *virgin soil*, and therefore that nothing could possibly be deposited underneath it. I urged the evident work of man in the squaring of the corners of the oblong hole in the rock, to which he assented, but replied, that he had *on other occasions* observed similar indications of *an intention of digging a grave*, but which, for some unknown reason, *after having been half dug*, had, like this, been abandoned without completion; and repeated his assertion, that he would consent to lose his head if any object was found. Considering the appearance of the earth, I was myself much inclined to be of his opinion, but curiosity moving me just to see *the bottom* of the supposed *intended grave*, I desired him to continue digging with the pickaxe till he could proceed no further, and myself watched the result, in momentary expectation of his arriving at the live rock. After some hours' hard labour, and having attained a depth of about twelve feet, he was *astounded*—(he crossed himself, as

if to implore protection from any demoniacal influence which had so deceived him)—by the discovery of a coarse vase of yellow earth, of amphora shape, about two feet six inches high, and with a pointed bottom, the mouth or neck wanting:—(see G. on the Plate.) Proceeding then with more caution, he found two more coarse vases, one of which was of black earth,[60] (marked E. on the Plate,) and the other red (F.), with zigzags *scratched* on it. The vase numbered 90 on the Plate then came to light, placed within a two-handled cup[61] with ornamental lines painted in the same style.

The amphora (G.), and the red vase (F.), contained each, a few burnt bones; proving that the body, or bodies, had been burnt, and that the grave had been dug in the solid rock, for the reception of the vases. The vase No. 90, and the cup No. 90 A, appear to be libatory. No remains of a skeleton were found, of which some traces would have been infallibly perceived, if a body had been deposited.

In the whole course of my excavations, which brought to light nearly one hundred Athenian sepulchres, this was the only tomb which contained such ancient relics; and this was also the only occurrence of the very unusual circumstance of the earth having assumed an appearance (during a lapse probably of 3000 years), which deceived *an acute man*, who had *passed his whole*

[60] Not painted black, but black throughout, as if formed of black earth.

[61] This cup is also in the British Museum, numbered 90 A. It is about 6½ inches in diameter at the mouth, and 4½ inches high. It is in a state of decomposition; the earth appears to be resolving itself into its original particles. It is ornamented with parallel lines, horizontally and vertically disposed.

life in tilling the soil of Attica, or excavating for M. Fauvel. My personal experience, therefore, in the discovery of these vases, confirmed all I had previously heard, or suspected, as to the remote antiquity of the period to which they belong.

Wishing to know how far the experience of Sig^r. Lusieri, and M. Fauvel, might confirm my own opinions and observations, I had several conversations with them *as to the finding* of this class of vases. I was disappointed, however, in hearing any satisfactory details, chiefly arising, as I perceived, from their not having always personally attended to the diggings, which I never failed to do daily from morning till nightfall. Their impression and opinion nevertheless were in favour of referring vases of this class to some indefinite and remote period. M. Fauvel called them *Phœnician vases*, and accounted for the peculiar style of ornament,—so unlike, as he contended, any thing Greek,—by a vague opinion that they had been *imported into Attica*, and were consequently not of Athenian manufacture. In this opinion I did not, and do not, by any means concur: the earth and manufacture of those found at Athens appear to me to be decidedly Athenian. M. Fauvel, however, communicated to me the interesting fact, that he had known this class of vases to have been dug up *repeatedly at places within the circuit of the ancient walls of the city*, where it is well known no cemetery would have been permitted by the laws. He pointed out to me, in particular, a site where many specimens of this kind of pottery had been found, at the foot of the Acropolis on the north side, near Sig^r. Lusieri's house, and nearly under the Erechtheium. This site must have formed an inhabited part of the city anterior to the time of Solon,

when the Prytaneium was already built.[62] It appears therefore reasonable to conclude, that during a much earlier period,—when the Acropolis alone was inhabited, or later, when the town on the southern side of the Acropolis had grown up,—the northern side had afforded a place of sepulture, which, even if not built over in Solon's time, must have long ceased to be used as a cemetery.[63]

On the whole it seems, therefore, not unfair to infer, —1. That such vases as those represented in the Plate, rank among the *earliest specimens* of the *primitive class* of Grecian pottery. 2. That these specimens may be referred to a period ranging from B. C. 1200 to B. C. 1000, and probably earlier. 3. That zigzag and spiral lines are among the more usual ornaments of that remote epoch. 4. That this class of pottery was not confined to one place, but was common to the south of Greece, and the islands of the Archipelago. 5. That the small fragment found at Tantalis (marked D. on the Plate) carries the same class of pottery to the western shores of Asia Minor,[64] and that, even there,

[62] See 'Leake's Topography of Athens,' &c., 8vo, London, 1841; second edition, vol. i. Plate II. page 8, &c.

[63] It will be recollected that the spot, under the Acropolis of Mycenæ, where the fragments A. B. C. were picked up, occupies a position quite analogous to that at the foot of the Athenian Acropolis under the Erechtheium, pointed out by M. Fauvel. That is to say, the earliest cemeteries at each place were situated *at the back of the Acropolis, at the greatest distance from the entrance.*

[64] Of the pottery and tombs of the early inhabitants of Asia Minor, it may be said that we know nothing. The prejudices of the Turks oppose an impassable barrier to investigations which might tend to afford information. Very little is known of an ancient site near Smyrna, or of the circular tombs, or rather tumuli, formed of polygonal stones, which are to be seen there, and are supposed to mark the position of Tantalis, afterwards called Sipylum. (*Vide*

as in Greece, it associates itself with Cyclopean architecture.

To conclude: if these should appear larger deductions from our premises than those premises will warrant,—and still more, should it be thought that our premises themselves are slender and insufficient,—we can but urge the nature of the inquiry, and recur to the impossibility of producing demonstration out of probabilities. Few indeed are our data; and some of them may be regarded as inconsiderable also; but an argument is not necessarily a weak one because it is built upon few and minute particulars. A single impression of the human foot on the sand would be enough to prove that a human being had been there. To ourselves, the evidence already adduced seems sufficient; but whether it may appear so to another mind, or not, we are perhaps incompetent to decide. We must be content to hope that, on our part, the arguments have been fairly and clearly stated; and that the reader will receive them candidly and weigh them with the attention which they seem to require.

"Si singula duram
Flectere non poterunt, poterunt tamen omnia mentem."

It has been our endeavour in this inquiry to convince by such arguments as were capable of distinct enumeration. We have purposely abstained from

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Ortelius Thesaurus Geographicus, in voce.) It was among those tumuli that the fragment of pottery marked D. on the Plate, was picked up by myself. This fragment affords the only indubitable trace, that ever fell under my observation, of the existence, in Asia Minor, of the *same class* of early pottery as that of Greece Proper, of which we are speaking. The discovery of such a fragment, on such a spot, seems worth recording. For some account and views of this

alluding to that kind of acquired knowledge which enables persons to judge intuitively of works of art, because it defies analysis. The chain of reasoning, for instance, by which men decide to what school a picture belongs, can scarcely be defined. It would be as reasonable to ask how we know a handwriting, or how we distinguish voices. Such things defy explanation. It is so with antiquity:—it is so with the vases under consideration. If I were not restrained by the fear of being thought arrogant or presumptuous, I should say that *I know* these vases to be among the oldest specimens of Greek earthenware extant. I know it from a habit of contemplating and comparing such objects almost day by day for thirty years; confirmed therein from time to time by the consentient opinion of foreign antiquaries;[65] and from having

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ancient locality see *Texier*, '*Description de l'Asie Mineure*,' folio, Paris, 1839-1844. Plate 129, *The Necropolis of Tantalis*. Plate 130, *The Tomb of Tantalus*. Plate 131, *Details of the Necropolis of Tantalis*. See also a notice of this ancient site in '*Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus*,' &c. 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1842, by William J. Hamilton, Esq., vol. i. pp. 46–54.

[65] Not reading the German language, I was not aware, till this Paper had been sent to press, that either the learned Editor of the posthumous work of Baron Stackelberg, (see note 55, page 286,) or the Baron himself, in the MS. which he had prepared, agrees with me in considering this class of vases to be the most ancient of Greece. In his account of the three remarkable specimens, engraved at Plate IX., to which we have already referred in a previous note, he seems to consider them to be in an "Egyptian style of art," but shows their Greek origin by a reference to Mr. Dodwell's celebrated vase already spoken of. It is curious that he makes the same remarks which I have already adduced, as to "the rarity of human figures,"—the "great delicacy and care in their execution,"—the "high antiquity of the style of ornament"—and the comparison of it with "the architectural remains discovered in the Treasury of Atreus at My-

brought to light, and carefully examined on the spot, all the vases discovered in nearly one hundred Athenian sepulchres. The great philosopher already quoted seems to allude to acquired knowledge of this kind in a well-known passage: "The unproved statements and opinions of the experienced, the aged, and the judicious, merit attention no less than those which are supported by proof; for these persons, by their experience, have acquired an eye which enables them to discern rightly." [66]

To those whose habits of thought do not allow them to step beyond the first Olympiad, into the times which certainly preceded the beginning of dated and authentic history, some apology is due for assumptions and inductions with reference to primitive Grecian art, so unusual and perhaps so startling. But believing, as the soundest and wisest writers of all ages have done, in the general truth of the "Tale of Troy Divine," and that there is fundamental truth in the chronology and history of the Mythic and Heroic periods of Greece, however obscured by the veil of remote antiquity, and the style of the narratives, I cannot refrain from asking, as an old traveller in that heart-stirring country,—What has become of the smaller objects of the art of Man, belonging to the remote periods to which we have just alluded?—

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cenæ." He adds that these vases were discovered "by the gate Dipylos, at the lowest of three tiers of graves, on the Sacred Way which led from Athens to Eleusis," and that the largest of the three vases "contained burnt bones."

[66] *ὥστε δεῖ πρυσέχειν τῶν ἐμπείρων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ἢ φρονίμων ταῖς ἀναποδείκτοις φάσεσι καὶ δόξαις οὐχ ἧττον τῶν ἀποδείξεων· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἔχειν ἐκ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ὅμμα ὁρῶσιν ὀρθῶς.*—Aristot. Eth. Nic. VI. 12. (Ed. Bekker.)

In Egypt they have been found in abundance: and if, in Greece, the lapse of ages be supposed, for the most part, to have destroyed works of iron or brass, and if our good fortune has not hitherto enabled us to discover specimens formed of gold or silver, why do we not, at least, find works of terra-cotta and pottery, which, once formed and deposited in the earth, will remain there uninjured to the end of time?—But, in truth, there can be little doubt that such works of the Heroic and Homeric ages have been already often found, and that we even possess many fine specimens without suspecting their remote antiquity.[67]

Future excavations on suitable sites will test the soundness of this opinion. But they must be directed with a proper degree of previously acquired knowledge; and conducted in the presence of persons able and willing to undergo the fatigue of making a faithful record of facts on the spot. Those facts should be connected with the individual objects discovered: and the objects themselves, properly distinguished, and carefully preserved, would ultimately furnish data for proving their respective ages by an intelligent comparison of things that were found together.[68] Real

[67] Compare, for instance, the Athenian Terra-Cotta, No. 190, in the British Museum, (from the same collection as the Vases,)—representing a veiled female Divinity, seated, holding a fawn, or small animal,—with the colossal seated figure of Amenophis III. (Memnon) of black granite (*Synopsis, No.* 21, *Egyptian Room*). The form of the throne, the position of the hand, and the general character of the style of the Athenian figure, indicate the Egyptian origin of *primitive* Athenian art, and point at the same time to *the very remote age* of this interesting terra-cotta.

[68] The great superiority of the *single separate graves* of Greece Proper, over the *family sepulchral chambers* (ὑπογαία) of the Greek Colonists in Magna Græcia, for aiding us in investigations such as

knowledge of the relative ages of objects, particularly of Vases, will never be acquired without the most minute care and accuracy in the conduct of investigations in this spirit.

THOMAS BURGON.

British Museum.

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those just advocated, has been alluded to in a previous note at page 285.

XVII.—ON THE SITE OF MEMPHIS, AND THE COLOSSAL STATUE OF METRAHENI.

BY J. BONOMI, ESQ.

(Read June 26th, 1845.)

In the second Book of Herodotus, chapter 110, we are informed that Menes, the first king of Egypt, founded the city called Memphis, situated in the *narrowest part of Egypt*,[1] and that the same monarch reared in that city a vast and greatly renowned temple to Vulcan; that to this temple Mœris added the vestibule (propylon) at the northern front, and that Sesostris, returning to Egypt with a multitude of captives from the various cities and countries he had conquered, employed them in dragging some enormous stones for certain additions made to this temple, in front of which he placed a statue of himself and one of his wife, each 30 cubits high, and four others, repre-

[1] As the Delta, which terminates a few miles north of Memphis, was the part of Egypt best known to the Greeks, and as at this point the valley of the Nile is so much contracted as to be only $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide, so that one may see from the margin of the desert on the west side, the quarries and rocks on the other; it was natural that Herodotus should call it the narrowest part, although in truth at Hagar Selsili, a little north of Koom-ombo, the river is much narrower, and there is scarcely a yard of alluvial deposit on either bank for a considerable distance.

senting his sons, each 20 cubits high; that after Pheron (who was the son of Sesostris), reigned a Memphian monarch called Proteus, who added a sanctuary to the south side of the temple of Vulcan, within the sacred precincts of which was a *small* temple dedicated to *Venus the Stranger*.

Diodorus of Sicily (Book 1. chap. 57) agrees with the father of history respecting the height of the statues of Sesostris and his wife, and of those representing his sons, and also with respect to their locality, viz. as appendages to the addition made to the temple of Vulcan by that monarch; but Diodorus places the statues (ἐν) in or within, and Herodotus (πρὸ) before or without the propylon.

This apparent difference in the two statements can not only be reconciled by an examination of the spot where the statue lies, but also by a consideration of the plan of Alkarnak it will be found rather to corroborate the truth and genuineness of both statements; for it will be seen, in the first place, that it was customary with the Egyptians to make *just such additions to their celebrated shrines*, as, it appears from the description of both historians, were made from time to time to this celebrated shrine of Lower Egpyt; and in the next place, that it was customary to erect colossal statues against the propyla, either within the space enclosed by the propylon, the temple, and the lateral porticos, (as at Karnak and at the Ramseion,) or against the propylon without the space or court, (as at Alluksor and at Alkarnak,) and sometimes both within and without the court (as at Karnak): so that either preposition, ἐν or πρὸ, would be applicable. It may also have happened, that the illustrious strangers were conducted through that celebrated temple of Memphis

in different ways: Herodotus, going out through the southern entrance, would very naturally say the statues were before or against the propylon; and Diodorus, coming in at that entrance, would with equal truth describe the statues of Sesostris and his wife as within, having passed the gate before seeing them, and finding them within the court: besides, the puzzling similarity, both in design and decoration, of these courts, would alone be enough to account for this kind of difference in the two statements, and make it rather serve to corroborate than invalidate either. But these arguments will have more weight when other evidences, both local and historical, are produced, which will go far to prove that the statue of Metraheni (of which a drawing accompanies the present Paper, and of the head of which there is a cast in the British Museum, presented by Robert Hay, Esq.) is the very statue of Sesostris described by both Herodotus and Diodorus, as forming part of the decorations of the temple of Vulcan in Memphis.

In this examination the principal witness will be the statue itself; a privilege which all Egyptian statues claim, in virtue of the significant decoration that usually accompanies them.

To those who are acquainted with the countenance of the Egyptian conqueror, the first and important question,—whom does the statue represent?—is sufficiently answered by an examination of the features; but to those who have not that acquaintance, yet are familiar with the discovery of our intelligent countryman, Dr. Young, the question is most satisfactorily answered by the hieroglyphics on the tablet of the breast, which are also distinctly repeated on the belt, and again on the scroll in the hand.

This, however, is not all that is required; for it must be shown, not only that it is a statue of the Sesostris of the Greeks, (the Ramses II. of the Egyptians,) but also, that it is that particular statue of the monarch which stood in or before the temple of Vulcan at Memphis; and to this question likewise the statue itself will reply.

First, then, on the tablet of the breast there is, on each side of the king's name, a figure, the one representing Pthah (Vulcan), the other, the sister of that divinity, Pasht. Again, in the great oval of the belt the same divinities are engraved, clearly intimating that this statue of Ramses II. decorated one of the entrances to the temple of Vulcan and Pasht (which deities here, as elsewhere, it seems, were worshipped under the same roof).[2]

To this evidence I would add that to be derived from the measurement of the statue, which will be found to represent 30 cubits, (according to the ordinary computation of that measure,[3]) when the top of the cap and the feet and ankles are restored.

To complete the evidence, however, and to join, as it were, the two end links of the chain, it remains to be shown, that the place where the statue is now lying is really the site of Memphis. To this, in like manner, the statue will give evidence; while, at the same time, certain local circumstances can be produced that will determine this point most satisfactorily.

To the east of the statue are some limestone fragments, of great importance as circumstantial evidence

[2] One half of a chamber of the Ramseion was devoted to these two divinities conjointly.

[3] Jomard sur la Coudée Egyptienne. Paris, 1827.

in this inquiry, they being the capitals of columns (like those of Dendera) of a small temple of Athor.[4] Here, then, with admirable propriety, might be placed the small temple dedicated to Venus the Stranger, (built in honour of Helen,) which stood within the sacred precincts of the sanctuary of Proteus, on the south side of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis. The next point to which I would direct attention, is a half-buried fragment of a statue, in granite, of a man bearing the ram-headed standard; of which, I am sorry to say, I am not able to produce a drawing, and therefore can only state my conviction that it is one of the four statues of the sons of Sesostris, mentioned by both historians as part of the decorations of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis. But another and less fallacious argument in favour of the locality may be drawn from the hieroglyphic in the great oval of the belt, which is the crown or pschent of Lower Egypt, and in this case significant of the capital of that district. Lastly, to these evidences may be added the testimony of Abd Allatif and other Arabian authors, the vast mounds of brick, the fragments of statues and foundations of walls, the vicinity of the pyramids, and the crowded cemetery of Sakkara; besides a multitude of topographical considerations, which all point to this spot (Metraheni and the villages adjacent) as the site of the once famous capital of Lower Egypt.

There is one more particular worthy of remark, connected with the hieroglyphics of the great oval of the belt, though not affecting the preceding argument: it is the oval or egg that occurs between the figure of Pthah and the staff, of which the usual signification

[4] The Venus of the Egyptians.

is son or child, but which, by a kind of twofold
or meaning common in the details of the sculpture
this period, I am inclined to believe refers also to
myth or doctrine preserved in the writings of so
Greek authors[5] as belonging to Vulcan, and said
be derived from Egypt, viz. the doctrine of the Mu
dane Egg. Now, although in no Egyptian sculptu
of the remote period of this statue has there yet be
found any distinct allusion to that doctrine, it is m
clearly hinted at in one of the age of the Ptolemie
and I am disposed to think it was imported from
east by Sesostris: in confirmation of its existence th
at a very remote period, I would refer to those e
shaped basaltic stones[6] embossed with curious devi
and covered with cuneatic inscriptions, which
brought from some of the ancient cities of Me
potamia.[7]

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

The *first division* of the Plate is a view of the colos
(looking towards the north) as it lies, in what,
some months of the year, is a corn field.[8] On the ri
are the Nile, and the opposite or eastern shore of
river: behind the narrow strip of cultivation are
mountains, in which may be seen the entrances

[5] Orpheus, Thales.

[6] One of these egg-shaped stones, in the British Museum, was
instrument with which a person not long since broke the Portl
Vase.

[7] See Birch's Notes to a work by Arundale.

[8] The statue is drawn as architects make views of buildings,
geometrically; so that the scale just below it may be applied
ascertain any of its dimensions.

the quarries which supplied the stone for the crust of all the pyramids, and other constructions on this side of the river, as well as the material of the colossus. To the left are seen the margin of the Western Desert, and the Pyramids of Gizeh.

The *outline* exhibits[9] the front of the same statue, restored. The irregular faint line shows how much of the statue is buried in the alluvium; (*i. e.* all to the left of that line still remains unexcavated.) On one side of the third division of the Plate a plan is given of the site, showing the direction and distance from the colossus of certain very important fragments, as laid down from actual measurements, lately sent me from Egypt, by my friend Mr. Wm. Lane, author of 'The Modern Egyptians.'

The dot and circle *directly north* of the statue indicate the place where are found three or four capitals of small columns, in limestone, decorated with the head of Athor. It is distant from the statue $62\frac{1}{3}$ yards.

The dot and circle *directly east* of the statue point out the situation of some fragments, in granite, of another colossal statue, to which, I apprehend, belonged the gigantic fist in the British Museum. These fragments are distant from the statue of Sesostris 430 yards.

The dot and square *directly west* of the statue represent the hut built by Captain Caviglia, who discovered this magnificent figure: it is now inhabited by an Arab, the guardian of the statue. It is distant from the statue 132 yards.

The dot and circle *south-south-west* of the statue mark the place of a colossal granite figure, half-

[9] Also geometrically.

buried, of a man bearing a standard; which is presumed to represent one of the sons of Sesostris. It is distant from the statue of his father 132 yards.

The three dots *north-north-west* of the statue represent the situation of some granite fragments of two door-posts, presumed to have belonged to the western entrance, in the axis of the temple of Vulcan of Menes, and of which the fragments at the other extremity of the axis mark the eastern entrance, the front of the temple, or that which faced the Nile.

The additions to the *north* of this building are those made by Sesostris (as Herodotus calls the bearer of the cartouch given at large below); a fact suggested by the vicinity of the capitals of the temple of Venus, of the statue itself, and that of the hero's son.

To the *south* I have intimated the additions made by Mœris, of which there is now no fragment above ground; but something appears in the direction of the mounds to authorize this conjecture, as well as all the rest of the plan, though least of all for the sanctuary of the monarch, called by Herodotus *Proteus*.

The remainder of the Plate is occupied by the hieroglyphics on the belt, on the tablet of the breast, those on the scroll in the hand, and on that part of the work which supports the advanced leg of the statue, where there are the remains of a figure in basso-relievo, with the right arm advanced to sustain the leg of the hero.

J. B.

XVIII.—ON THE GOD AMOUN, AND THE DERIVATION OF HIS NAME.

(Read March 12th, 1846.)

BY W. OSBURN, ESQ., JUNIOR.

A BRIEF review of the facts at present ascertained respecting this divinity of the ancient Egyptians may not be unacceptable to the Society.

He is generally represented as a tall figure, sometimes standing, in other instances seated on a throne, with the flesh of a blue tint, and distinguished by a peculiar head-dress, supposed to have been formed of dyed palm-leaves, bound to the head with a scarlet cincture.

His name is written in hieroglyphics, ⲁⲙⲛ ⲣⲏ ⲥⲟⲛ ϯⲏⲣ, *i. e.* 'Amon, sun, king of the gods.' He was, therefore, an impersonation of the sun, which luminary was the nucleus of the whole mythic system of ancient Egypt.

Amoun is a comparatively late introduction into the Egyptian mythology. The traces of him are but faint, and few, on the monuments of early date. He has no place whatever in the psychological system embodied in the Ritual, or Book of the Dead, which, from the occurrence of the name of Mencheres in it, appears to be posterior in date to the epoch of the pyramids.

The first instance of the occurrence of the name of Amoun, which has hitherto been noticed, is in the surname of several of the monarchs of the twelfth dynasty

—Amenemes. The import of this name appears to be ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲫⲏ ⲛⲛⲉ ⲧⲛⲧⲛ—*i. e.* 'Amoun before the creation;' a title of a somewhat assumptive character, and (like the immaculate conception) conveying the pretences of a new divinity, rather than the known attributes of an established and acknowledged one. For the five hundred years that followed, the worship of Amoun in Upper Egypt seems gradually to have taken the place of that of Re-Athom, the setting sun, the father-god of the Egyptian mythology, whose worship was first established at On or Heliopolis. In this new worship seems to have originated the building of Thebes, whose hieroglyphic name is AMNIT, 'the dwelling of Amoun.' The founder of this city was probably Amosis, who was also the founder of the eighteenth dynasty.

The increase of favour with which Amoun was regarded by the successive monarchs of this dynasty, is distinctly traceable on the monuments they have executed, until, in Sethos and his descendants, who concluded it, devotion to this deity becomes a perfect passion. They write themselves 'beloved of Amoun,' or 'the friend of Amoun,' in their inaugural titles. To him they dedicate the spoils and prisoners taken in their wars with the Canaanites and the Cushites. Sesostris is said to have erected a temple to Amoun in the chief city of every nome of Egypt. A singular instance of this *furore* for the honour of Amoun has been discovered by Mr. Bonomi, on the beautiful obelisk of Karnak, which was erected by Queen Amense, the fourth monarch of the eighteenth dynasty, A. C. 1757.

In one of the reliefs close under the pyramidion, the effigies and name of Athom have been chipped out, and those of Amoun have been engraved in their place,

in a style so very inferior to the rest as plainly to show that it is the work of a much later epoch. A cast from this device is now in the British Museum.

Several similar instances of the substitution of Amoun and his descendants for older divinities have also been found by Mr. Bonomi, on other monuments in the Museum. He is still investigating this curious subject.

Amoun is a mere deification of the patriarch Ham, the son of Noah, from whom the ancient Egyptians were descended. This has before been noticed, but I believe that the absolute identity of the two names has not before been pointed out. This I now proceed to show. ⲁⲙⲛ hiero. חם Heb. In the first place, the guttural of ח, at the beginning of חם, was used in the spoken language of Egypt, before all open vowel sounds. Thus the word for 'a crocodile,' which is written both in hieroglyphics and in the Coptic books ⲁⲙⲥⲁϩ, was transcribed by Herodotus, from the dictation of an Egyptian, χάμψαι.

The ⲛ at the end of the name Amoun, which is the other variation from Ham, is accounted for in a manner equally satisfactory. In the Theban dialect of Coptic, ⲙ at the end of a syllable is invariably followed by an epenthetic ⲛ. Thus the word for 'brass,' in the Memphitic or lower dialect of Coptic, is ϩⲟⲙⲧ, which in the Theban dialect is written ϩⲟⲙⲛⲧ; and the Memphitic word for 'natron,' ϩⲟⲥⲉⲙ, is in Theban ϩⲟⲥⲉⲙⲛ. The hieroglyphic word ⲁⲙⲛ, therefore, (written Amoun long afterwards by the Greeks,) is, letter for letter, the exact transcription of the name of the patriarch Ham. This is the point to which I wished to direct the attention of the Society.

XIX.—NOTE ON THE BUDRÚM MARBLES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY J. BONOMI, ESQ.

(Read December 11, 1846.)

I BEG leave, with the permission of the Council, to exhibit to the Members of the Royal Society of Literature some camera-lucida *sketches* from as many of the pieces of the Budrúm Frieze in the British Museum as I could draw in their present position.

That we possess in these sculptures the work of the celebrated men who were employed in the decoration of the tomb of Artemisia, is, I presume, beyond a doubt; for, besides the history of the fortress in which they were found, so much art is displayed in the composition of the figures, so much vigour of movement, and excellence of execution, as to leave no doubt that they are the work of the most eminent in the art of sculpture.

The entire collection consists of thirteen pieces, each 2 feet 11 inches high, and 1 foot thick. The length of all the thirteen pieces taken together is 63 feet 5 inches, —somewhat more than the extent of the long side of the Mausoleum, as given by Pliny; and as but few of the pieces form part of the same composition, never more than two belonging to the same group, it follows that we possess portions of more than one side of the building, and consequently more than the work of

one of the four celebrated artists who are said to have adorned, each, a separate face of the tomb. Accordingly, among the thirteen pieces, some are sufficiently different in execution from others, to warrant the belief that they are the work of another hand; though not, perhaps, sufficiently unlike to establish the fact of their being, in design as well as in execution, by a different artist: how far, however, the fashion or style of art of the particular epoch has contributed to that similarity of design observable in all the pieces, and to the consequent difficulty in detecting the individual artist, I cannot say; but the piece (A)[1] seems to me to differ from the rest in other particulars besides those of execution.

The proportions of the figures, with respect to the size of the head, are much more accurate than in the Phigalian or in the Athenian *relievi:* there is, however, in all the figures, a greater length given to the femur, with a proportionate shortness of the leg, than is observable in the Athenian sculptures; but whether this peculiarity belongs to the time or the place, admits of doubt, for it occurs to a remarkable degree in all the Lycian marbles.

J. B.

[1] The piece (A) represents an Amazon on horseback, contending with a Greek, and another Amazon on her knees, defending herself against two Greeks.

XX.—ON THE PERSEPOLITAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. LANDSEER, ESQ.

(Read November 26, 1846.)

Southampton Street, Nov. 14, 1846.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

Doubtless you have perused Major Rawlinson's interesting decipherings of the ancient Inscriptions at Baghistân (which he writes Behristun), and the erudite memoir by which they are accompanied. As those incriptions consist, not of hieroglyphs, but of letters, and are, hence, a real chiseled language, they fall with so much propriety under the cognizance of the Royal Society of Literature, that I shall venture to address to you a few remarks and suggestions concerning them, in the hope that you will see reason to submit them where you officiate at the fountain; and that you will do me the honour to submit them while the subject is fresh.

When inscriptions in this ancient language were first noticed, at Persepolis, on the Sabæan cylinders, and on the bricks of Babylon, they were by the French antiquaries, and by our own countryman, Raspe, said to consist of "*characters in the clouds*,"—a metaphor of which the meaning was sufficiently obvious: afterward they were styled "*arrow-head* characters;" and more recently, by the German scholars, and by Mr.

Rich (the British resident at Baghdad), with whom, I believe, the epithet originated—"*cuneatic*," or "*cuneiform, characters*," from their real or supposed resemblance to wedges.

Now, I have seen ancient Persian, or Parthian arrow-barbs of copper, picked up from the plain of Marathon; but they only resemble the elementary form of the Assyrian letters, when cursorily regarded—nay, scarcely that, for some of them were shaped like tulip-buds, round at one end, and pointed at the other; and those which were triangular and pointed, were not forked, as are the engraved characters in question.

Neither do these characters bear more than a very general and imperfect resemblance to wedges, some of them being cut slantwise or diagonally, while of those which are straight (or rectangular with respect to their supporting line), the broad ends, where wedges are struck with the hammer, are not sufficiently flat for a wedge to have been their archetype.

But they all resemble, in all their varieties, NOTCHES, cut on the flat sides and occasionally on the edges and on the angles of "*tallies;*" such as were formerly used arithmetically at the English Exchequer.

If you cut notches—as I have done on the slip of wood sent herewith—some of them from the edge

on the broad flat side of the tally, and others on its angular edge; some rectangularly with respect to the edge, and others with a diagonal slant, and more or

less deep, and more or less elongated, you thus *easily* get all the elementary varieties of the Assyrian, Persian, Babylonian, and Elymæan letters—all of which I esteem to be cognate. I may further remark that you cannot, but with considerable *difficulty*, obtain these varieties in any other way that I am aware of. My belief, therefore, is, that verbal and numeral inscriptions were thus cut on wood, in the first instance, and subsequently came to be chiseled on stone, after their several meanings had been conventionally settled and sanctioned by general social usage.

Yet I shall not dispute, and may not dissemble, that such characters also bear some resemblance in their elementary type to the stamped metallic ingots which Mr. Payne Knight describes as primitive money: such money as was in use before the invention of die-sinking and round coinage, and before metal rings were employed as a conventional measure of value,—ingots, I mean, of the precious metals, of which the weight and consequent value were punched on the larger end, denoting that any given ingot weighed a shekel, or a talent, or some other recognized expression of its degree of ponderosity. Such punching would necessarily bulge the end which received the blow into the notch form; and "stamped ingots" are mentioned in the book of Job, although the staple wealth of the patriarch consisted of flocks and herds. Perhaps, indeed, these stamped marks might denote that the piece impressed was equivalent in value to a goat, a sheep, a calf, or an ox; and hence, money has been called, as it is still occasionally called at present, *pecunia*—a word originally referring to cattle. Mr. Bonomi is acquainted with an Egyptian hieroglyph of scales *in equilibrio*, in one of which is a calf or ox, and in

the other a lump or a ring of bullion. I shall now beg leave to advert to another topic.

Major Rawlinson, in his valuable memoir on Cuneiform Inscriptions (p. 28), acquaints us that five distinct languages or dialects were lithographically expressed by these characters, namely:

{ Primitive Babylonian,
{ Achæmenian Babylonian,
{ Medo-Assyrian,
{ Assyrian,
Elymæan.

I suppose these are independent of the more simple Persepolitan. Of their susceptibility of further subdivision, we will say nothing at present. The erudite Major adds, that he will furnish the public with analytical and alphabetic views of these in a future portion of his essay. He further says, that the alphabet, which he has especially studied, contains about *one hundred* characters. Now, to those students who (like you and me) have habituated themselves to regard the from sixteen to twenty-four letters of which the other ancient alphabets consisted, as expressing all the elementary sounds of which the human organs are capable, this century of sounds, or of signs of sound, must needs seem extraordinary, despite of what the learned author adds concerning mutes and sonants. Do we not seem bound to ask ourselves here, how far it is consistent with the simplicity which we habitually attribute to primitive times, to suppose the genius of Assyria (or the royal or religious authority which might check its ignorant luxuriance) would have ordained or sanctioned the conventional employment of five or six strokes to express or denote a single elementary vocal sound, when one or two would have done as well, or

better? Really, this prolixity and complexity seems most appalling, and almost incredibly so. What will the Monosyllabic Chinese antiquaries say to it? Will they not be ready to affirm that each group of notches, like the strokes in their own written language, must necessarily be a word?

I remember, many years ago, when I first visited the museum of the Hon. East India Company, Dr. Wilkins, the then Librarian, showed me the celebrated slab covered with Babylonian characters, which Sir Hugh Inglis had presented. In his endeavours to analyze and come at the meaning of the Inscription, the learned librarian said the thousands of characters of which it consists, had been counted and classed, and there were more than *two* hundred varieties; from which we concurrently came to the inference that each of the little groups of arrow-barbs must be a *word*, *not* a *letter*. I since perceive, from the engraved copy of this curious monument, that the number of different characters is 287!

Now, after making every reasonable allowance in the way of deduction from this number, on the score of the engraver having, in repeating the same characters, varied their forms, as we not unfrequently do in our current epistolary writing,—can we, consistently with our previous knowledge, regard these Babylonian groups as other than monosyllables at least, of which two or three might sometimes go to the formation of a word? A scholar, however, of Major Rawlinson's sound erudition, cannot but be well aware of this drawback; and as I find the following sentence in his page 31, I am, in fact, only showing, or wishing to show him, that there is caution in England, and that his critical labours and judicious scruples are not unappreciated here. He

says, "In inquiries of this nature, the opening of the first gallery is the only matter of serious embarrassment; at each successive step of the inquiry, difficulties resolve themselves, and the entire fabric is soon laid bare before the cautious march of diligent and critical research." Let *us*, then, (my dear Sir,) eschewing cursoriness, take due care that the first gallery is hung with real rudiments.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your faithful *old* friend,

J. LANDSEER.

The Rev. Richard Cattermole,
Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature.

XXI.—ON ACCENTED LATIN INSCRIPTIONS.

(Read February 12, 1846.)

Dear Sir,

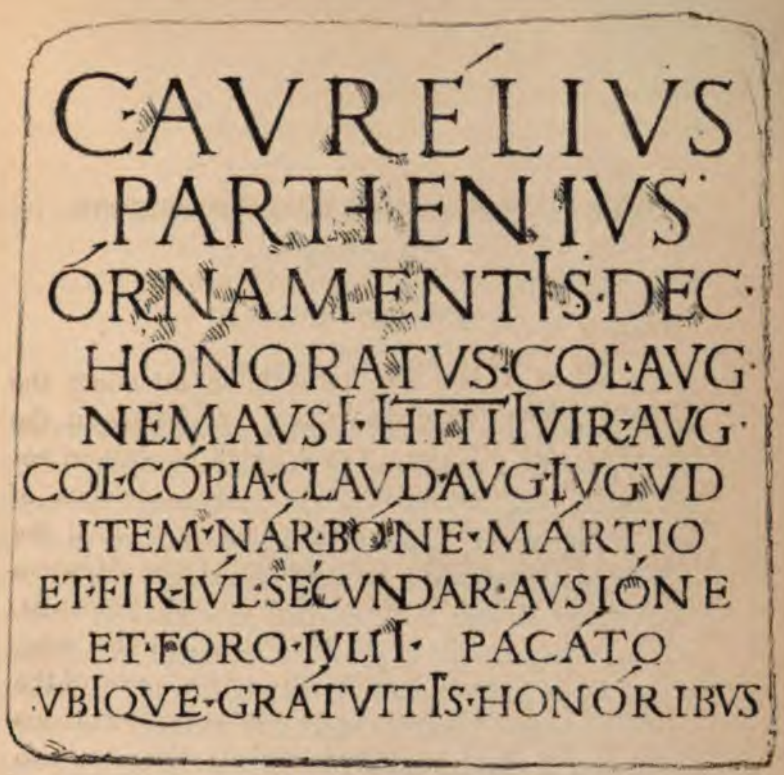
When I had the pleasure of attending the "Congrès Scientifique de France" at Nîmes in the year 1844, my attention was arrested by certain accented Roman Inscriptions among the collection of Antiquities in the ancient temple vulgarly called the Maison Carrée, which, the keeper of the Museum informed me, had been found about twenty years ago, in the formation of some new streets in that city. As M. Pelet, the learned Honorary Conservator of the Antiquities of Nîmes, assured me that these incriptions had never yet been published, and as they are also very remarkable for their great rarity, I beg to submit the tracings which I made from them to the Royal Society of Literature.

No. I. is on a marble of finer quality than the others, and is surrounded by beautifully wrought representations of fruit and flowers, but I was not able to ascertain where it was discovered. No. II. was found near the Amphitheatre, and No. III. in digging for the foundation of the new prison.

Yours very respectfully,

Wm. Bromet, M.D., F.S.A.

The Rev. Richard Cattermole,
Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature.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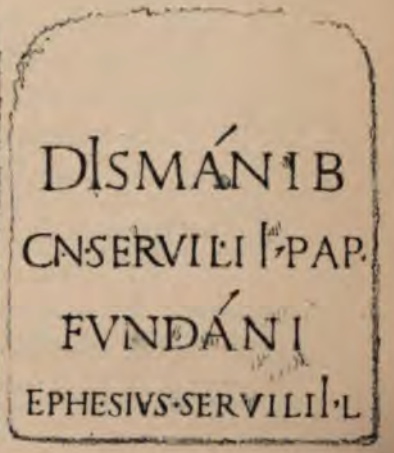
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XXII.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATISTICAL TABLET OF KARNAK.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ.

(Read Jan. 14, 1847.)

THE term statistical tablet of Karnak[1] has been applied to a monument which, although it has enjoyed a great European reputation, has not as yet been subjected to that analysis which it merits. Formerly it was part of the right-hand wall as a spectator enters the granite sanctuary of Karnak:[2] it now is one of the treasures of Egyptian art lying in the magazine of the Louvre. The inscription is in bas-relief upon sandstone, and consists of a large portion, containing fifty-four perpendicular lines of hieroglyphics, all mutilated to the extent of about one-half; to which must be added a small piece containing the commencement of eight more lines, giving a total of sixty-two lines. The whole is surmounted by two other lines, one much larger than the other. This tablet may be pronounced, without hesitation, the most important extant for the history and commerce of Central Asia. A copy of the tablet was made, when it was in situ, by Sir Gardner Wilkinson,[3] and another has been published by Dr.

[1] See Rosellini, M. St. tom. iii. Pte. I. p. 185; Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 121, *et seq.*; Dict. pp. 118, 123, 151, 235, 267, 333.

[2] Rosellini, *loc. cit.*

[3] Young, Thomas, Hieroglyphics, fol. London, 1822, Pl. LXI.–XLII.

Lepsius [4] from the monument after its removal: for the present analysis both have been consulted; for if the later copy is in some places more accurate, the earlier often exhibits important additions to the text.

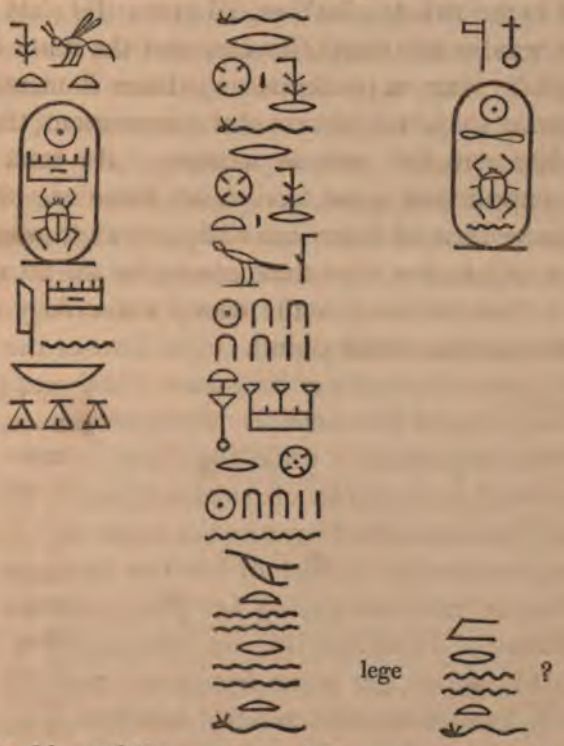
The object of the inscription was to record the expeditions undertaken by the monarch Thothmes III., and the tributes received from his twenty-ninth regnal year, and it appears more than probable that the tablet was the continuation of another of similar import; for the first expedition recorded is the *fifth*, and this happened in the twenty-ninth regnal year; the *sixth* expedition was in his thirtieth year, and the *tenth* in his thirty-fifth year: a *thirteenth* expedition is mentioned, but, owing to the mutilation of the monument, the corresponding regnal year is wanting. At least three more expeditions must have been recorded, but the commencement of them has disappeared through the great mutilation of the tablet, caused by the ravages of time. The following is the coeval chronology of the expeditions and regnal years:

Expedition.	Regnal Year.
V.	29–30.
VI.	30–31.
VII.	31–32.
VIII.	32–33.
IX.	33–34.
X.	34–35.
XI.	35–36.
XII.	36–37.
XIII.	37–38.
XIV.	38–39.
XV.	39–40.
XVI.	40–41.

Otherwise we must suppose a year of repose to have

[4] Auswahl der Wichtigsten Urkunden; fo. Leips. 1844, Taf. XII.

elapsed, as each expedition is dated in the commencement of a regnal year. Nor is this date inconsistent with the regnal years of the reign of Thothmes III.; for the first of the four colossi, representing the monarch Thothmes I., (whose name occurs on the belt,) placed on the left hand, before the gate of the third propylæon which leads out of the south side of the great temple at Karnak, (on which the monarch Thothmes II. is represented standing between two divinities,) bears the following mutilated inscription on the back.[5]



"*The king of the upper and lower country, the Sun, establisher of beings* [Thothmes III.], *beloved of Amen-ra, lord of the thrones of the world,* [*has executed*

[5] Rosellini, M. St. Pte. 1. tom. iii. pp. 125, 126. Tav. an. pag. fig. 2.

this with," or, "*out of his constructions*] *at the southern region, on the 22nd of Thoth, in his 42nd year . . . . . in the name of his father the good God, the Sun, the greatest of created beings,*" [Thothmes I.]

There is a doubt as to the meaning of the group immediately following the date, which might make it that of one of the cycles of panegyries, or festivals, but none whatever can exist as to the restoration of the last part; and it must not be forgotten that the regent sister of this monarch shared the government with her brother, Thothmes III., up to his 16th regnal year at least, as appears from the tablet of the Wadi Magara, published by Leon de Laborde.[6] Still there is a period of ten years to account for between this date and the commencement of the tablet, the twenty-ninth year: yet, as on all these monuments her name invariably precedes that of Thothmes III., and as she, in her own name, dedicated the two great obelisks before the second pylon, I am disposed to consider that the twenty-ninth regnal year of the tablet is dated from the death of her father, Thothmes I., and that the reign of Thothmes II. was short, and chronologically insignificant; while the name of the queen was omitted in the tablet of Abydos from the objection to female influence, and because her reign, as collateral, was comprehended in that of her two brothers. On monuments executed during her power she takes the precedence of Thothmes III., but the sculptor's chisel, which has erased her name from every accessible monument throughout the country, indicates the galling nature of her influence.

Prior to the eighteenth dynasty, our knowledge of the external politics of Egypt is very limited; yet there

[6] Voyage en Arabie Pétrée, Pl. VIII.

seems reason for believing that they had extensive influence both in a northern and southerly direction. The temple of Athor, the mistress of the Mefka, or copper-land, as the Wadi Magara was called, was founded as early as Khiufu or Cheops, and the rich mines of copper then opened continued to be explored by his successors down to the eighteenth dynasty. An officer of Usr-t-sen I., as recorded in his tomb at Beni-Hassan, received in the regnal year of that monarch, by royal command, a convoy of thirty-nine Mes-segem,[7] foreigners, headed by their hyk or leader, Ab-sha. These were of the great Semitic family, called by the Egyptians ãamu. The presents they offer do not show any marks of wealth, but their costume and equipments coincide with what we know of the Semitic borderers upon Egypt. In the mean time, the same monarch had pushed his conquests far south, and recorded several of his Ethiopian prisoners on a tablet at the Wadi Halfa.[8]

[7] These people have been conjectured to be the Hebrews. Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, ii. 296, Plate iv. See also a writer in the Westminster Review, reading m̃-sichem, from Sichem; Rosellini, Mon. Stor. Pte. i. tom. iii. p. 56, *et seq.*; and Champollion (Lettres Ecrites, pp. 76, 77; Inscription, Pl. iv. p. 75) even conjectured them to be Greeks, from the meander patterns on their garments. Mr. Osburn (Egypt, Her Testimony, p. 36–43) reads the name Ab-sha as that of the people, and supposes them to be the Jebusites. I return to the reading—ãamu for the nation, (Hincks, Trans. R. I. Acad. 1847,) Mes-segem for the tribe; and Ab-sha for the prince, not the name of the goat, as Rosellini (Mon. Stor. tom. iii. Pte. i. p. 56) has made it. As a proper name, it may be compared with Abishua, 1 Chr. vi. 4; and Abishai, 1 Sam. xxvi. 6. Mestem does not mean "stibium producing," but a portion, or kind of perfume, as "mestem-en-ha-ti."—Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Taf. lxi. c. 144, f. 30.

[8] Now in the Museum S. Caterina, at Florence. Champollion, Mon. tom. i. Pl. i.; Rosellini, M. R. xxv. Amenemha II. conquered

The political influence of the 12th dynasty in Nubia is indicated by the immense fortifications in the gorges of the Nile close to Samneh, by the tablets recording the heights attained by the Nile, executed by the Usr-t-sens and Amenemhas of that line,[9] and by the subsequent deification of the head of this dynasty at Samneh: there is consequently ample proof that at this period the dominion of Egypt reached from the Arabian peninsula to 23° s. l.

Between the close of the twelfth and the rise of the eighteenth dynasty is a monumental gap, generally attributed to a northern invasion of a pastoral race called Hyk Shos, or "Shepherd rulers," a people who were on the confines of Egypt as late as the commencement of the nineteenth dynasty,[10] and who bear evidence of being a Semitic and not Japhetic race, as has been usually conjectured.[11] But the eighteenth dynasty undoubtedly opened with particular splendour, both as regards the arts and the external politics of Egypt. Champollion[12] has cited the inscription of a tablet, unfortunately never published, of a naval officer of this monarch who entered the service of the king when he was

P'hun-t, probably the Pœni, or Libyans.—Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, 1. tom. i. p. 45.

[9] Rapport de M. le Rev. Dr. Abeken, compagnon de Voyage du Dr. Lepsius, fait à la Société Egyptienne de Caire, en assemblée générale sur leur voyage en Nubie, addressé par M. le Dr. Perron, in the 'Bulletin de la Société de Géographie,' 8vo, Par. 1845, 3me. série, tom. x. p. 170–177. See also the letters of Dr. Lepsius in the Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences; Philadelphia, 21st Jan. 1845, Pt. VIII.

[10] One of the first campaigns of Sethos I. was to attack the Shasu, "who are on the fortress of Taru [probably Pelusium], which is towards the land of Canaan."—Rosellini, M. R. XLVIII.

[11] See, however, Dr. Morton, Crania Ægyptiaca, p. 53.

[12] Champollion-Figeac, Egypte Ancienne, 8vo, Paris, 1839, p. 300.

at Tanis, recording that many combats took place upon the water, and that a corps of troops under this officer was directed against the enemy southward; that these wars lasted till the sixth year of Aahmes, and that in the following years the monarch went to Ethiopia to levy tribute. These events have been referred to the period immediately prior to the expulsion of the shepherds from Avaris, and indeed from this account the Delta appears to have been still in the occupation of the Shos;[13] but some additional light on the events of the period is afforded by a tablet of calcareous stone removed from Egypt by Champollion, and now in the magazine of the Louvre.[14] It is a tablet recording the services of a certain Aahmes or Amasis, surnamed Penseben, under the early princes of the eighteenth dynasty.

This officer appears to have belonged to the nomarchs or military cast, having charge of the signet, and of the captured objects, and he makes the following declaration:

"*I have served the king, the Sun, the vigilant* (?) *lord* [Amasis I. XVIII. dynasty]. *I took for him in . . . . two living hands; I served the Sun, who distributes*

[13] There is, however, a tablet in the quarries of Maasara, (Vyse's Journal, vol. iii.—Maasara Quarries,) close to Tourah, the Egyptian *Bah*, or the Mons Troicus, in the vicinity of Gizeh, dated in the twenty-second regnal year of this monarch, and recording that the quarries were then worked for the construction of the temples of Phtha in Memphis, and of Amen-ra in Thebes, which proves that at that period the whole of Egypt had been recovered by the native rulers.

[14] Lepsius, Auswahl der Wichtigsten Urkunden des Aegyptischen Alterthums, fo. Leipz. 1842, Taf. XIV. A. B. Translations of some detached parts of this inscription will be found in Champollion, Dictionnaire, pp. 146, 224, 229, 408, 455.

offerings [Amenophis I.]. *I took for him in Kesh* [Cush, Ethiopia] *one strong living captive. I did it for the king, the Sun, who distributes offering* [Amenophis I.], *declared true: I took for him in the north from Kehak* or *Amukehak three hands: I served the king, the Sun, great creator of offering* [Thothmes I.], *declared true: I took for him in the land of Kesh* [Cush, Ethiopia] *two living captives: the journey of the captives brought by me from Kesh I do not reckon:*[15] *I acted for the king, the great creator of offering* [Thothmes I.]. *I captured for him in the land of Naharaina twenty-one hands, a horse, and a chariot; also I served the king, the Sun, the greatest of creators* [Thothmes II.], *declared true: I led from the Shasu* [the Shos] *great and numerous captives: I do not reckon them.*" (?)

The language of this inscription is tolerably explicit: what the officer means by hands[16] are persons that he has either killed, or subdued and mutilated; for the Egyptians reckoned their killed enemies by their hands, which were brought into the camp and counted, or, as a surer method, by their foreskins, which showed the dishonour of their uncircumcised enemies, and prevented deception. The spoil taken indeed is not great, but affords sufficient evidence of the prowess of the hero. The following are the historical deductions which may be drawn from it:

[15] There is some difficulty about the meaning here: (the packet) is determinative of several ideas. I have once found it when placed alone, , hebs, "to clothe:" as the officer here uses a negative, and does not specify, the sense is probably something of the kind I have given in the text. Cf. also the expression hebs-tu, "reckoning words; confessing."—Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Taf. XLVI. c. 125, a, 2.

[16] "Gold hand" was the appellation of a kind of hand-fan. Champollion, Mon. de l'Egypte, t. iii. Pl. CCCXVII.

Reign of Amasis I., campaign against [*the south.*]

Reign of Amenophis I., campaign against the Ethiopians and Amukehak, or Kehak,[17] in the North.

Reign of Thothmes I., campaigns of Ethiopia in the commencement, and of Naharaina or Mesopotamia towards the close.

Reign of Thothmes II., troubles with the Shasu or Shos, nomadic tribes of the Arabian peninsula and Palestine.

There is a fragment of a tablet on the south front of the western temple at Samneh, of similar import, which appears to have been mutilated during the reign of Rameses II. by having another inscription cut over it. Although badly copied, and containing only part of fourteen vertical lines, it may be gathered from it, that it is of an officer speaking in the first person, who records the appointments and donatives he had received under the reigns of Aahmes I., Thothmes I., and probably Amenophis I. He appears to have been appointed by Thothmes I., prince of Ethiopia.[18]

The inscription on the other tablet (B) is not so distinct, nor is it so necessary for the purpose of our inquiry: it contains some additional titles and qualifications of the officer Aahmes, surnamed Pensuben: it appears to be—

"*I poured forth the libations of the king* (?), *the ever living ruler—I never left the king from his first appearance* (?) . . . . *having acted well*[19] *for the king,*

[17] These people are mentioned, Select Papyri, Pl. LI. l. 4; and are conjectured by Dr. Hincks ('An Attempt to ascertain the Letters of the Hieroglyphic, or Ancient Egyptian Alphabet,' 4to, Dub. 1847, p. 73, note) to be a Tartar tribe.

[18] Young, Hieroglyphics, Pl. XCI.

[19] I do not feel quite certain that the expression *nefer-ut er suten* does not rather mean "*rewarded by the king.*"

the Sun, the foreseeing (?) *lord* [Amasis I.], *having done well for the king, the Sun, the chief of created beings* [Thothmes II.]. *I was one of the* [servants] *who were under the king, and having done good to the king, the Sun establishing creation* [Thothmes III.], *I received* (?) *from the king, the Sun, who places offering* [Amenophis I.], *two armlets of gold, two collars, a gold anclet, a poniard, and a crown of enamel* (?) [or *glass*]. *I received of the king, the Sun, greatest of created beings* [Thothmes I.], *two gold bracelets, four collars, an anclet,* [*a poniard decorated with*] *lions, and two gold hatchets: I received of the king, the Sun, greatest of created beings* [Thothmes II.], *two gold armlets, six collars, four anclets of porcelain, and a* (?) *silver war-axe.*"

The consideration of this tablet is important for the supposed chronology of this dynasty, for

	Yrs.	Mon.
Amasis I. reigned at least . . .	21	0
Amenophis I.	26	4
Thothmes I.	13	0
Thothmes II.	26	7
Making a total of	65	11;

but this would be a length of military service unprecedented in the annals of the world. The cipher of the reigns must be too high, for forty years would be a long period of active military service. There is but little contemporary notice of these political events. Certain pectoral plates[20] of Amenophis I. show that he had vanquished both northern and southern enemies; while the speos at Ibrim[21] attests the continued

[20] Rosellini, M. St. tom. iii. Parte 1. Tav. 11. ann.

[21] Rosellini, *loc. cit.* p. 75.

occupation of Nubia by the Pharaohs; and inscriptions as far south as the Isle of Argo with the name of Thothmes I., and that of Thothmes II.[22] at Mount Barkal or Napata, show that the South had never successfully thrown off the yoke of her Egyptian rulers. Egypt was consequently reaching the zenith of her power about the reign of Thothmes III.

How the monarch had been employed previously to his twenty-ninth year, there is no hint from any other extant document except the tablet, at the Wadi Magara, of his sixteenth year, when he still appears in the tutelage of the queen sister regent. Another tablet, copied by Mr. Bonomi, at the Sarabout el Khadem, is dated in the twenty-sixth regnal year of Thothmes, which is a presumptive proof that the regency of the queen had terminated in the interval. But there is ample space for the five expeditions between this and the twenty-ninth regnal year.

I. The line of larger hieroglyphics contains the name of the king [*the living Horus, the powerful bull*] *crowned in Nem* or *Neser*, [*king of the upper and of the lower country, the ruling (?) lord*], *the Sun establishing existence, the son of the Sun, Thothmes* . . . It is to be remarked here that the titles commencing the inscription are those of Thothmes III., proving that his sister had been either got rid of, or reduced to an inferior rank.

II. The smaller line, which is the title of the whole. *His majesty ordered that the victories which were given by his father* [*Amen-ra*] *should be placed on the stone wall of the temple, made by his majesty, of red granite* [a long erasure] *in* [*her* or] *its name, together*

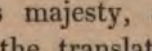
[22] Found by Lord Prudhoe in these places. Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, Ser. I. p. 52, 1st edit.

with the captives led by his majesty in it, making it elegant like . . . . . The first erasure was probably that of Amen-ra, to whom the granite sanctuary was dedicated, and may have been defaced in some of the subsequent reigns. It will be observed that he calls the wall simply stone, and it was of a sandstone: the temple made of Syenitic granite is the celebrated granite sanctuary. The erasure which follows this is of a more ambiguous character: it is followed by "its name," which may refer to the temple, or "in her name," which would allude to the queen regent; nor can we determine which, except from the subsequent phrase "led in it," and this, being also in the feminine, points to the same sense of temple, and seems to show that the defacement was that of some mention of the god Amen-ra,[23] probably part of the extensive violence of the Sun worshippers. The inscription then commences, line 1:

"*In the twenty-ninth year, then his majesty* [*was in the land of the Tahaï*], *about to molest all the abominable lands in it in the fifth expedition with his force: then the fortress of the Ua-ua was captured by his majesty* . . . . . *powers to* . . . . *his going—those who were the good, surrounding his majesty, did all as appointed* (*?*), *and his majesty went to the treasury of offering, and received the pure and good things of* . . . . *with bulls, and steers, and waterfowl* . . . . . [brought by] *the descendants of the vanquished of that land,* 1 *chief of the fort,* 329 *men,* 100 *ingots of silver,* 100 *ingots of gold, tin* (*?*), *copper, and vases of brass* (*?*) *and of iron:*

[23] See Dr. Hincks on the Defacement of Divine and Royal Names, Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad. 4to, Dub. 1846, vol. xxi. Part 1.: with respect however to mere erasures, without substitutions, they may have occurred at any time.

then was the loading of the ships . . . . . all other good things, as his majesty went on his return towards Egypt . . . . . in triumph: after that, his majesty sacked the fort of the Arutu of its corn, and smote all its arms: after that his majesty went . . . . . to the land of the Tahai—in triumph . . . . . their fine wine in their waters, likewise their corn of . . . . . navigating the water, their infinite . . . . for bread of offering, the archers in their halting (?) . . . . . with other things . . . . . the guardians . . . . . led by his majesty from the land of the . . . . . incense and palm wine [balsams], 490 measures of honey, 6428 measures of wine, iron, lead, tin, and antimony (?), 618 bulls, 3636 goats, bread, and . . . . . corn, and flour, all the good things of that land . . . . . every sun [set ?] as it is in the panegyries of the land of Egypt."

The task of explaining all the philological reasons on which the translation of each individual word is based, would be so great, and would lead to such a long disquisition, that, with the exception of some particular phrases, I must abandon it for what is more important, the historical portion. The most obvious divisions of the events are these, twenty-ninth year, fifth campaign: although all the hieroglyphics of the land in which the king was then are wanting, except the I vertical line, yet I deem this enough to enable us to restore the reading —as is most probably for , the —the rest of the hieroglyphic having been broken off. His majesty, as will be seen from inspecting the translation, certainly went there in that year, and descended from it towards Egypt. Hence  fills up the space, and is a good restoration. The name Tahai, of two known nations, resembles that of the Dahæ, located

at the foot of the Caspian, and the Taochi, situated just outside the high mountain ranges of Armenia.

Some light upon their position is afforded from a consideration of the principal texts in which they are mentioned. Rameses II., in his fifth year, had commenced his great campaign against the Khita, which is entitled his second expedition. He was in the land of the Tahai,[24] and was at the fort of the Shabuten, on the south bank (?) of the Ati or Atet, when he heard from the Shasu (Arabs) [Scythi of Dr. Hincks, Shepherds of Rosellini and Mr. Osburn] that the Khita [the Chaldees] were seated in the land of the Chirubu[25] [Helbon], which closely resembles the name of the Chalybonitis, Helbon, or the modern Aleppo. Now the grand confederation of the central Asiatic people in the reign of Rameses II.[26] consisted of the Khita, the Maasu (a people of the Masii montes), the Tera, the Kesh-kesh (Caucasus?), the Ar-hena (Iran), the Karukamasha (Carchemish), the Chirubu (Chalybes), the Akatar, the Ate[sh], and the Ruka (Ragæ), and the Aruta (Ararat). The text here is "*the wretched chief of the Khita, and the numerous lands that are with him, the Arutu, the Maasu, the Shasu, the Kesh-kesh, the Arhena, the Katuata, with the Chirubu, the Ati, and the Ruka.*"

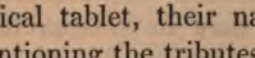
[24] The Tahai are mentioned in antithesis to Egypt (Papyrus Anastasi, ii. p. 1; Select Papyri, Pl. LXVII.); and in the grand campaign at Medinat Haboo against the Philistines, by Rameses IV., the Tahai are the people to whom the king had advanced. Champollion, Mon. tom. ii. Pl. CCXIX.

[25] A name resembling this is written Khiburu [Chaborah] under Rameses III. at Medinat Haboo. Champollion, Mon. tom. iii. Plate CCIV.

[26] Select Papyri, Pl. XXIV. XXV.; MS. Sallier, p. 3, line 10 and last; first given by Salvolini, Campagne de Rhamses le Grand, Plate I. fig. 1, *et seq.*

In a subsequent account of the confederation, the number of cavalry furnished by each country is given, viz., "*the chief*[27] *of the Aruta*, 90 *of the land of the Maasu; the chief of the Arhena*, 90 *of the land of Ruka; the chief of the Tenteni*, 90 *of the land of the Kesh-kesh; the chief of the Karukamasha*, 90 *of the land of the Chirubu; and the . . .* 90 *of the Khita . . . total*, 4500." Now a chief is mentioned to each two lands; and it is evident that the territorial subdivisions are these:

Aruta [Ararat?]	subdivision of the	Maasu [Masii, Moschui].[28]
Ar-hena [Iran]	,,	,,	Ruka [Ragæ Media].
Ten-ten-i [Tanais?]	,,	,,	Kesh-kesh [Caucasus].[29]
Karukamasha [Carchemish][30]	,,		Chirubu [Chalybes].[31]

The name of the minor country, Vava, which was attacked by the king, is mentioned on two other occasions; it occurs in Papyrus, Sallier, No. 2,[32] in the praises made to or by the monarch Amenemha I.,  '*I conquered the Vavai, I led the Matai.*' In the thirty-seventh line of the statistical tablet, their name is found close to the part mentioning the tributes of Kesh or Ethiopia, and they bring gold ingots, one of the products of the black tribes: their name means the distant, and is peculiar for the repetition of sound which distinguishes the names of the black people in the Egyptian inscriptions.

[27] Select Papyri, Pl. xxvii.; Sallier, line 5, *et seq.*

[28] Hincks, Report of Syro-Egyptian Society, 1846, April, *loc. cit.*

[29] *Ibid.* But I think it very doubtful whether the people of Ethiopia are not here intended.

[30] Hincks, Trans. Roy. Irish Acad. 1847, p. 46.

[31] Select Papyri, Pl. x. viii. *dorso.*

[32] *Ibid.* Pl. xi. page 2, last line. Cf. the *Ta-ua-ua.* Rosel. M. R. cxii. at Medinat Haboo. Wilkinson, M. H. Supp. to Pl. viii.

Let us turn to the next expedition, and the events of the thirtieth year, commencing in line 6—9.

"*In the thirtieth year, then his majesty was in the land of the Ruten-nu, in his sixth expedition, with his powers,—his majesty approached then to the fortress of the land of Atet* or *Atshu, and cut up its bulwarks . . . going in the land of the . . . . . tu, he approached the fort of . . . . . brought by the spirits of his majesty from the chiefs of the Ruten in that year: then there was a bringing of those born of the chiefs, and their brethren, to be in his power in Kam* [Egypt]: *then were all the appointed hostages by the gift of his majesty ordered (?) to be placed in his palace with the other chief-born, led from . . . . . 30 chariots decorated with gold, silver, and paintings.*"

This evidently closes the events of the thirtieth year, although not consequently those of the sixth expedition. The king was then in the Ruten, a nation apparently more north than the Tahai. There has been hitherto considerable difficulty in discovering who these people were; and they have been conjectured to be the Lydians—Ludim—in the sense of central Asiatics, Ratheni and Arvadites. The principal monumental evidence to guide us in determining these people is the following:

1. In the tomb at Thebes, in which the events detailed on this tablet are pictorially represented, they are styled thus—'*the Ruten—northern lands behind the great sea.*'[33]

11. In the campaign of his first year, Sethos I.[34] has not only driven out the Shasu, who were at Tar, on the frontiers of Egypt, but had marched to the Ruten,

[33] Hoskins's Æthiopia: Tomb at Thebes.

[34] Rosellini, M. R. LII.

defeated them, and returned with *the royal servants who had accompanied him* there.

III. In the grand ethnographical table of prisoners, they are divided into *the Upper* and *Lower*[35] *Ruten-nu*, and the nations of the North are placed in the following geographical order: the lands of the North, three unknown nations, apparently generic names; then follow the

a. Khita.

b. Naharaina [Mesopotamia].

c. Upper Ruten.

d. Lower Ruten.

e. Saenkara [Singara].

IV. The physical characters of these people are as follows: they are of a light (pink) colour, with brown or red hair, and blue eyes; their tribute is horses, chariots, rare woods, ivory, gloves, a bear (ursus labiatus) of Syria, gold and silver vases with the head of the god Baal, porcelain jars, pitch, woods, and frankincense: their tight dresses, apparently of wool, open with a buckle, in the manner of the goddess Astarta, and they carry long gloves.

V. They are the people conquered by Esar-haddon, as represented at Khorsabad, and supposed, with great probability, to be the people of Ashdod or Azotus.

Now, comparing these facts with the hypotheses advanced by the principal writers on the subject of the ethnography of the Egyptians, they cannot be the Lydians, as conjectured by Champollion; for all we know of Lydia is as a small state on the western coast of Asia, whose power in its zenith, under Crœsus, in the seventh century, only reached to the Halys. The com-

[35] Rosellini, M. R. LXI. a.

parison of them with the Ludim, by Rosellini, is equally unsatisfactory, for it is necessary to begin by determining who the Ludim are. The Biblical commentators make them the Lydians, descended from Shem; but there is a second Lud in the tenth chapter of Genesis,[36] a descendant of the Mizraim; and their juxtaposition with other nations does not guide us in the question; for we have Cush, Phut, and Lud, in Ezekiel xxx. 5, and Jeremiah xlvi. 9; and Persia, Lud, and Phut, in Ezekiel xxvii. 10. It is of course necessary to refer them to a central Asiatic people, but to call them Ludim is either an indefinite expression or else a mere repetition of the hypothesis of Champollion. The supposition of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, that they might possibly be the inhabitants of Rhaiti, in Arabia Petræa, would neither be consonant with their known geographical position nor with their products and attire. Sir Gardner, who however places them more north than Syria, admits the great difficulty of determining who are intended. A learned physiologist of America, Dr. Morton,[37] conjectures that they are Hindoos, founding his opinion on the physiognomy, the Asiatic elephants, and the bears, which he supposes to be the ursus labiatus of India; but he fluctuates between an Indo-Semitic or Indo-Persian people. There is indeed a people of India called the Rotana,[38] but it is unsafe from mere analogy to identify the two names. The theory of Mr. Hoskins, that they are white slaves sent as tribute from Meroe, is so utterly untenable as to deserve no serious criticism. The last theory, that of Mr. Osburn,[39] that they are the people of Arad-us, the Arvad-im of the

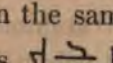
[36] Genesis, x. 13.

[37] Crania Ægyptiaca, 4to, Philadelphia, 1844, p. 50.

[38] Steph. Byz. *voce*.

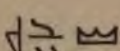
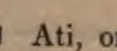
[39] Testimony, p. 52.

Scriptures,[40] founded on the resemblance of Ruten and a *Rvedim*, or rather a *Rvedin*, as the Phœnician plural, is deserving of considerable attention. In the attack made by Sethos on the Ermen-ni, or Hermon, who cut down the wood of their forests for tribute or offering, the prince who stands before the king, Sethos I., tells him that *the chiefs of the Ruten-nu are before* him. Now the term upper and lower Ruten suggests that the nation occupied some territory divided in a marked manner by some physical boundary, such as a mountain range—a condition which the Hermon would perfectly answer. But this is far removed from Aradus, which must be regarded as the capital of the Arvadites, and there is no indication in the text[41] that they were a maritime people. Considering their colour, their designation, and their peculiar tributes, and the fact of the Cappadoces being recorded amongst the tributary of the great Rhamses, I am tempted to believe that the Cappadocians or Leuco-Syri, fair Syrians, are intended, who lay above and below the Taurus, and who occupied the lesser Armenia, the Armina of the Inscription at Behestun, and the Hermini of the Chaldees. The man who brings the elephant is evidently of a different race, and this animal was probably brought from the plains of Mesopotamia, where in primeval times it existed.—Are they the Scriptural Resen?

In the same year, the king had approached the fortress  Atesh, or as it is otherwise written

[40] ארודים.

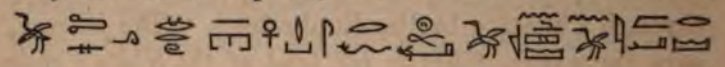
[41] Mr. Osburn, *loc. cit.*, mentions a sentence: "in the ships of the wicked race of the Ruten, we (*i. e.* the gods) brought his majesty to his conquests over the land of the Chta" (Shethites, Osburn); but I cannot find it; nor could ships from Aradus sail into the Moabitis.

 Ati, or  Atet, and, softening the *t*, Adad;—instead of the more generally received Atsh, Adesh, or Otsh. The ascertaining the place of this city was deemed one of the greatest desiderata in Egyptian history. Its capture was the great event of the reign of Rameses the Great, and it has been conjectured to be the city of Khadesh, or Haddasa, or Edessa.

First, to compare the passages in which it occurs.

I. From the statistical tablet, it appears that the fortress of Atet was close to the Ruten, or Luden.

II. In the campaign of Sethos I.,[42] the king successfully attacks this place, and on the fort is written,

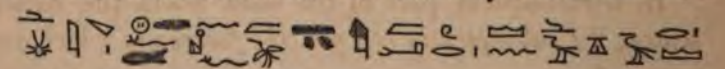


"the expedition made by the camp in order to capture the land of the Atet, of the land of Amar."

III. In the grand campaign of Rameses III.,[43] of the Memnonium, the fortress of Atet is protected by the Khita, and Rebu or Lebu, united against the king.

IV. In the second campaign of Rameses II., in his fifth year, the king was in the land of the Tahai on the south bank of Atet, marching to the south of the fortress Shabuten, when he heard from two of the Shasu [Arabs] that the Khita [Chaldees] were seated in the land of Chirubu [Chaboras or Helbon].

V. In the campaign of Rameses III.,[44] at Medinat Haboo, on the fourteenth fort taken by that monarch, is

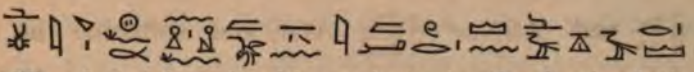


which must be restored—

[42] At Karnak, Rosellini, M. R. LIII.

[43] Rosellini, M. R. XCI. Wilkinson, M. and C. Ser. I. vol. i. p. 382.

[44] Burton, Excerpta Hieroglyphica, Pls. XII. XIV.



"The fort taken by his majesty in the land of the Amaur, a land of the Takaru" [Tigra].

VI. Another proof of the intimate geographical and political relations existing between the Khita and the Ati occurs in the laudatory poem of Rameses II.: in some of the stanzas—*the great chief of the Khita sends to the chief of the Ati* or *Atet—let us secretly combine against Kam* [Egypt]; *the spirits of the created god* [the monarch] *said we will make it known to the Sun, the maintainer of truth.*[45] Some additional geographical particulars are given in another poem, in which the writer appears to be describing a passage from Egypt through Palestine to the Euphrates. "*Thy journey,*" says the writer, "*lies to the land of the Khita: Auba, and Shatuma* [Sodom or the plains of Siddim] *appear to you. In the same manner I tell you of Kafiri; it is that which is the Bata* [Beth] . . . . *of* [Ra]*messu, the fortress of the Khiru*[*bu*] [Chaboras]; *in its waters . . . . its course resembles that which you make in going to the Ati* [Haditha], *and Tubachi* [Thapsachus]: *you go to the bow-bearing Shasu* [Arabs], *crossing the road at Makaru, ... the heaven is . . . . with light: it is planted with clumps of cedars?* [petenruna?] *and acacias* [*aχ*]; *you disturb the wild animals and deer, and the camels ridden (?) by the Shasu on its road: it leads thee up to the hill of the land of Shava.*"[46]

In a subsequent part of the same poem the writer states, "*I subsequently tell you the fortresses which are*

[45] Cf. Dr. Hincks, British Archæological Association, Winchester Congress, 8vo, London, 1846, p. 253. Select Papyri, Brit. Mus. Pl. LXIV. Anastasi, ii. p. 2, line 1–2. Pl. LXXXVIII. Anastasi, iv. p. 7.

[46] Select Papyri, Pl. LII. p. 18, line 7–8. Cf. Dr. Hincks, *loc. cit.*

above them as thou goest to the land of Tachisa, Kafir-maruchana (?) [Caper-malcan], *Tamneh* [Dimnath] *Ati, Tapuru, Atai Haru-nema; you look at Karta-anbu* [Kereth-enev], *Bata-Tubar?* [Beth-Dabir]; *you know Aturuma, Titputa in the same manner. I tell you the name of Chanruta* [Chinneroth Gennesereth], *which is the land of Auba, the bull of the frontiers in its place.*" [47] The writer also mentions *Baita Sha*[su] [Bethshan Scythopolis], *Taruka-aru, and the passage of the Iurtuna* [Jordan]; and the only doubt, after reading these passages, is, whether Ati or Atet was not a name used in Syria to signify city, and whether two cities may not be intended. It was, at all events, to the north of Palestine, and cannot be placed among the Amorites in the south. From Ati or Atet came a drink or drug to Egypt in the way of commerce, as the writer of a subsequent papyrus mentions a *maniketa* [phial?] filled with the drugs of the Atet;[48]—the drugs of the Atet, and wines of Charu or Syria, and a kind of cloth embroidery for sails from the same place.

VII. The gods of the Khita are Sout or Sutex [Sadak, Sat-an], Baal, and Astarta [Ashtaroth]: many of the proper names end in saru—a common Assyrian termination.

VIII. The fort Atesh lay on a circular island, in the centre of a large river, with a double wet ditch, flanked by two bridges;[49] and the picture in which it appears corresponds to the revolt of the Bactrians, described by Diodorus.[50]

IX. In the great ethnographical tablet of Karnak, of

[47] Cf. Dr. Hincks, *loc. cit.* Select Papyri, Pl. LVI. line 1, 2, and foll.

[48] Ibid. Pl. XCIII. line 11, and XCII. line 1.

[49] Rosellini, M. R. XCI.; Wilkinson, M. and C. Ser. I. vol. i. p. 382.

[50] Lib. I. 47.

the conquests of Sethos I., the division apparently descending from the north towards Egypt is

Khita [Chaldæa, Cuthæans],
Naharaina [Mesopotamia],
Ruten, U. and L. [Cappadocia],
Saenkara [Shinar].

In the prisoners of Amenophis III.[51] at Soleb, the procession is

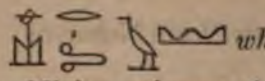
Naharaina [Mesopotamia],
Saenkara [Singara],
Atet.

Connecting these circumstances together, it would appear that Atet was a great city lying on a river, either the Euphrates or Tigris, belonging to a tract of country attached to the Tigris, garrisoned by a Chaldæan people, and not far from the Chaboras or Chalybonitis, and probably in the Omira. I would prefer Haditha, on the east bank of the Euphrates, to Haddasa, (as proposed by Mr. Osburn,) the chief city of the Amorites, or Edessa, the Ur of the Chaldees, (suggested by Dr. Hincks,) which is not upon any river.[52] The reason that the Greeks conjectured this to be the attack on the Bactrians was probably owing to the similarity of sound between the Khita and Cathæi, Amaru and the Amoor or Iaxartes, Takar and the Tochari.

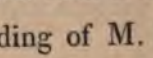
I will now pass on to an event which is recorded in the next year, although without any similar notice of an expedition, lines 9, 10.

On the 3rd of Pashons of the 31st year, crowds of the captives were led to his majesty; in that year the captives brought from the fort of Pet-rutu,

[51] Cf. Wilkinson, M. H. Pl. VIII. and Suppl. to Pl. VIII.
[52] Report of Syro-Egyptian Society, 8vo, 1847, p. 6.

 *which is on the rock of the lake Merna, of living prisoners* 490, *commanded . . . . . with the fallen of . . . . . with the . . . . . and their logs of wood by the inch, the ell, and the cane, placed by the captives of his majesty, like the hill of the hours . . . . all his other things. The convoy of captives led by the chiefs of the Ruten, coming to supply the land of his majesty: in that year his majesty . . . . .*

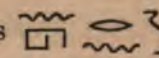
I regard the first part as indicating the assemblage, the crowd: a similar locution occurs on the outer south wall at Karnak,[53] where, on the prisoners, is written, *the crowds of chiefs of the Khita led by his majesty to the abode of Amen.* In the absence of positive hieroglyphical information enabling us to find the place, the city of *Pet-rutu*, we must refer it conjecturally. This place indeed appears among the conquests of Rameses III. (Miamun), at Medinat Haboo,[54]—for so

the shield should probably be restored as and we have it in a succession of names reading Ta-sata, Ru-ri, *Pet-rutu*, and facing a series of Asiatics called Kerna, A-tur (?), Tarbusa, and Tirna —where we may conjecture the Mesopotamian Charran, and Thalneh:[55] but a slight insight is afforded by the text itself here: the fortress is stated to be on the rock of Merna,  following the reading of M. Lepsius. Yet, restoring

[53] Rosellini, M. R. tom. iii. Pte. 2ª. p. 260–6.

[54] Champollion, Monumens de l' Egypte, tome iii. Pl. ccxv.

[55] The other prisoners, *loc. cit.*, are chiefly northern Syrians: we have Hairna or Hairenim, *i.e.* Hauran; Rebanut, *i.e.* Lebanoth or Libanus; Ataru, *i.e.* Aturia; Chiburu, either the Chaboras or a transposition for Chelbon; Luss . . . Resen (?); and Iiha, Hava.

the first part as  —we have Nehar-na, or Mesopotamia; and then Pet-rutu, from its elements, suggests Pethor,[56] one of the oldest cities of Mesopotamia. From the expression after the wood, which is preceded by a word with the meaning of which I am unacquainted, it would appear that either some immense quantity had been brought, or a large edifice had been constructed.[57] Merna may be either the Dead Sea or the Lake Merom.

The events referable to the eighth expedition are continued in the 10th and 11th lines,—*with blocks (?) of their wood by the inch, ell, and cane, cows of* . . . . 104 *in number, and* 172 *steers of bulls, total* 276, 4622 *wild goats,* 40 *bricks of iron in ore, and* . . . . . *bricks of lead,* . . . . . *together with all the good woods of that land.*

No light is afforded, throughout the tablet, respecting the country to which this tribute can be referred, neither do we know whence the Egyptians procured their iron, which is, however, widely diffused in Palestine and Syria and among the Chalybes: the quantity is small, and this metal, as well as lead, seems to have been imported into Egypt in the form of rectangular ingots or 'bricks.'

The text continues, line 11—

then every land arrived as his majesty approached them, to supply him with bread and corn, jars of palm-wine, [balsams?] incense, wine, honey, and . . . . . .

The mutilated condition of the remainder prevents our knowing what country was intended as the one "overflowing with milk and honey:" the meaning of the

[56] Num. xxii. 5; Deut. xxiii. 4; The LXX. *loc. cit.*

[57] The expression, like "the rock of the hours," or solar hill, often occurs as an honorary epithet applied to the king.

two subsequent lines is also very obscure,—it is this line 13—

they are placed on the first tablet of the palace, and th account of them is given on that tablet; they are figured multiplying many words, whilst bearing their tribute i the place(?) making their . . . . . .

The following line (14) has evidently formed part of the recital of another year—

. . . *bushels of corn, wheat, frankincense, green conserves, wine, flour, and all other products of that land; and they will be bound in the treasury as the chief of the works of the* . . . . . The text continues after a long hiatus—line 15,

incense for burning, with all the other good things of that land—when his majesty approached Mera or *Mer-tar* [*Egypt*], *then came the guides of the* . . . . . [*P'hen-t*] *with their tribute of pearls(?) and jasper.*[58]

Although there is no indication of a name in the text, yet in the tomb published by Hoskins these two last materials come from the land of Pun-t or P'hen-t, apparently Libya, a country, as we shall subsequently see, supplying Egypt with granite and blocks of stone from its quarries (line 27). As early, indeed, as the twelfth dynasty, P'hun-t had been in the power of Egypt. An hiatus occurs between this and the next line, and we evidently pass into another expedition, or tribute, also from a country producing cattle,—probably from the southern frontiers of Egypt, from Peti, or Kash, from whence, as we see in the tomb of Hoskins and at Beit el Weelly, the Egyptians received this kind of tribute; for we have, line 16,

113 *steers*, 230 *broad bulls*, *total* 343, *coming in the*

[58] The word here, Ana-Kam, resembles the Coptic ⲁⲛⲁⲕⲁⲙ. Peyr. Lex. l. c. 9, calcanthum, vitriolum.

transports laden with ivory and ebony, the fine wool[59] *of Numidian goats, and* [*all the other good and*] *true* [*things of that land*].

From hence we have again passed, in the commencement of line 17, to the closing part of the formula of another tribute.

. . . . . *coming in the transports laden with all the good things of that land, measured by the Vava in the same manner.*

The tribute was brought from a Cushite province; and there is reason for believing the Vava to have been a southern people. This closed the 32nd year, and we pass on to the opening of a new regnal year.

The 33rd year, then his majesty was in the land of the Ruten-nu [*in his 8th expedition*]. The whole of the events of this year are lost, and nothing remains of what then occurred, except the end of the section, which commences the following line (18). *The king of the upper and lower country, the Sun, greatest of offered beings,*—the prenomen of Thothmes I.; yet it is impossible to say what relation this stands in with the preceding line. "The king, Thothmes I.," may have built some fort, or consolidated some conquest continued by his successor. In the subsequent expedition the king had reached the Euphrates: line 18,—*then his majesty sailed on leading captive the forts, and ploughing the fastnesses of the fallen of the wretched Naharaina.*

The connection of this with the subsequent line is interrupted by a long hiatus; but as the events of this part of Asia continue to be mentioned, it is probable

[59] It is interesting to compare this with the Negative Confession in the Ritual L. Todt. Taf. XLVIII. c. 125, line 24. "*I have not shorn goats.*"

that the wanting portion referred to the same part of the world. The identity of Naharaina[60] with the Biblical Neharajim and the Syriac Nahrin is admitted by all inquirers, and it is probable that in subsequent reigns the old limit was merely maintained; for certainly at this period Thothmes III. had marked out this country, probably the right bank of the Euphrates, as the limits of the empire of Egypt.

The meaning of the subsequent line (19) is very obscure: . . . *on it . . . guided in it with rising up like the . . . . of goats—then the horses contending* (?) . . . .

This isolated passage appears to refer to a military expedition. In the next line (20) we pass to the record of part of a tribute,—30 [*chiefs*] *with their women*, 80 *prisoners of war, pure men and pure women* (*slaves*) 606, *with their children, . . surrendered men and women.*

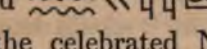
These people are probably from Syria: in the great tomb of Hoskins, the king, Thothmes, receives conscripts from all parts for his army. The foreigners acquired are always divided into three classes: first, the *kefa*, the captured, a term applied to the chasing of animals; and although the past participial form is not given, yet there can be little doubt from the context, that chased or captured persons or prisoners of war are intended. The second class, *henter*, is holy men and women: it is the same character which, in combination with a god, has been translated "priest;" and when placed absolutely, expresses the sanctity or person of a monarch. It may be conjectured that they are a class held sacred by the Egyptians. Both Rameses I. and II. boast that they have filled the ra

[60] Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 150. Birch, Gallery, II. p. 80. Osburn, Testimony, p. 75. Dr. Hincks, The Letters of the Ancient Alphabet, No. 108, p. 45, נהרים.

or mansion, the place where the offerings were deposited, with pure prisoners;[61] and Rameses III. tells us, exactly as Herodotus had heard, that he built the Temple of Aboosimbel by his prisoners.[62] It is probable that these persons of the sacred cast were employed as hierodules in the inferior offices of the temples; and as there is every appearance of the introduction of the worship of Central Asia at this period, in the forms of Bär or Baal, Astarta or Ashtaroth, Ken or Koun, Anta or Anaitis, and Renpu or Remphe, there is no reason why the ministers of these foreign religions may not have been led into captivity with other classes of society. The third class are the *hept*, the offered persons, neither prisoners of war nor priests, but conscripts or hostages: in the present instance their number is not specified.

The next line (21) is one of the most important in the whole tablet,—

. . Neniiu, in stopping—when his majesty came he set up his tablet in Naharaina, to enlarge, or, *on account of having enlarged the confines of Kam* [*Egypt.*]

The word  Nen-i-iu has been recognized as the celebrated Nineveh on the Tigris by Champollion,[63] the *Νινεύι* of the Septuagint. The identification of this name is not perfectly satisfactory, for as it commences the line, it is possible that it may be the termination of the name of some fort or place. As it stands, it perfectly coincides with this city, while the return of the king southwards, towards Naharaina, quite concurs with its position. The mention of tablets here is important, as it shows what was their actual em-

[61] Rosellini, M. R. LXVI. 1.

[62] Lib. II. 108; Diod. I. 55. Burton, Ex. Hier. LIII.

[63] Gr. Eg. p. 150.

ployment. They were the landmarks of the empire; which satisfactorily accounts for the appearance of those of the monarch Khiufu and others at the Wadi Magara and the Sarabout el Khadem, that of Usr-t-sen I. formerly at the Wadi Halfa, and now in the museum of the Sta. Caterina at Florence, and that of Rameses II. in the pass of the Nahr el Kelb,[64] or ancient Lycus. That at Nymphi is certainly an Assyrian or native work, and cannot be referred to Egypt, whose conquests cannot be traced so far west.[65] In the celebrated tomb of Nehar, son of Num-hept, at Beni-Hassan, that officer states how far he had erected tablets for the king in a northern and southerly direction, but the names of the cities are unfortunately not identified.[66] In the tablets of Tourah,[67] the officer under whose direction fresh works had been carried on there, in the reign of Amenophis II., states, that "*he had set up tablets for his majesty as far northwards as Naharaina* [*Mesopotamia*], *and southwards, as Karu* [*Kalaa*]." Since Amenophis II. was the son and successor of Thothmes III., this officer was, in all probability, the very one under whom the tablet mentioned in our text was erected. On the scarabæi[68] which record the marriage of Amenophis III. and his wife Taiui, the limits of the empire are placed at Naharaina and the Karu,

[64] I am sorry to differ with an inquirer so able as Major Rawlinson, who is reported to have founded an argument for the progress of civilization towards Assyria upon this Assyrian tablet at the Nahr el Kelb. Cf. Athenæum, No. 1025, p. 647; but this tablet either marked the passage of the Lycus or the limit of the Assyrian empire when it was executed.

[65] Archaologische Zeitung, 1845. Taf. XI. s. 33–46; 1846, No. 41.

[66] Burton, Ex. Hier. Pl. XXXIII.

[67] Vyse, Journal, vol. iii.—Tourah Quarries, Pl. II.

[68] Rosellini, M. R. XLIV. 1.

Kalaa, or Gallas, if this be the ancient name; and under Thothmes IV., as we have already seen, the chiefs of Mesopotamia humbly bring presents of gold to the monarch.[69] That Egypt held at this period Ethiopia and Mesopotamia, as her tributaries, is evident; but it would appear that these conquests had to be renewed by Sethos I.; for they were lost in the interval, according to some, through the introduction of a novel and fanatical heresy of pure Sabæanism, but not impossibly through the reflux of conquest and the vicissitudes of war. Sethos I. again boasted "*that his seats extended to Naharaina, his victories to the tips* [ends] *of the world.*"[70] After this period, the conquests of the north-east still continued to engage the attention of the Pharaohs; but the Khita, placed northwards of Mesopotamia itself, chiefly engaged their attention till the accession of the next dynasty, when the rise of the Philistines to power had swept away the Syrian and Mesopotamian conquests of Egypt, and when the possession of the coast line was an object of ambition to the Pharaohs. During the 19th dynasty, Tyre and Sidon, Berytus, Aradus, Sarepta, and the Jordan, are mentioned; and under Rameses II. the empire had probably stretched as far as Beyrout, where it was met by the Assyrian boundary; but afterwards, till Nechao marched upon Carchemish, our knowledge of the political limit of Egypt is restricted to a few circumstances: an alliance with the 23rd dynasty is apparently indicated by the name of Nimrut or Nimrod, and Shaput or Shapud.[71] At a later period there is no mention of Mesopotamia.

From hence we pass again, after a considerable

[69] Champollion, Mon. de l'Egypte, tom. ii. Plate CLX.
[70] Rosellini, M. R. LX. [71] Ibid. 159.

hiatus, to the middle portion of another tribute, line 22,—

. . . [513] *pure men and women*, 260 *brood mares*, 85 *ingots, and* 9 *purses' weight of gold, silver, and gold vases of the fabric of the Tahai.*

The word here for horses is ses-em, recognized as the Semitic סוּס, the name of a horse or mare. In the hieroglyphics, it is always employed to point out the brood mares of which the royal stud was composed; the war-horse or charger being called h-tar, or *horse*. Mr. Pickering, an American naturalist, has remarked, that as yet no horse has been found till the 18th dynasty; and the earliest appearance of any is on the tesseræ on which Amenophis I.[72] is seen attacking the northern people. The post of chief groom, or master of the brood mares, was then and subsequently filled by princes of the blood royal, and the name in use for these animals among the Egyptians was probably derived from the people from whom they had received them.

At the period of the 18th dynasty, the horse was extensively used throughout Central Asia for purposes of war, but only in chariots; and the exceptional instances of horsemen prove that it was not esteemed for cavalry. The Scythians, in the earliest times, and subsequently the Assyrians and Persians, were the great horse-riders, and probably owed much of their success in war to the dexterous employment of a force both novel and terrible to nations unacquainted with the means of resisting it.

The gold from this part of the world was not brought in the huge link chains in which it was transported from Kash or Ethiopia, but fused into long rectangular

[72] Birch, Gallery, ii. Pl. xxx.; Rosel. M. S. t. iii. Pt. 1. Tav. ann. 2.

stones called 'ingots.' These were probably adjusted to a given weight, and it was the ordinary manner in which the precious metals found their way from the North into Egypt; yet there is even a trace of ring ingots, as will be subsequently seen, from the same places. The silver vases, the work of the Tahai, are a remarkable tribute, as they show an excellence in working metals among these people; indeed, the arts of toreutic work in Asia influenced so largely even the Greek world at a later period, as to rival, and gradually supersede, the fictile painted vases of the Greeks, which represented the fine porcelain of modern civilization.

It will be remembered, that in many of the temple scenes the monarchs are represented offering vases of gold and silver, with handles and feet and covers in the shape of animals, such as the bull, and the gazelle, kneeling Asiatics, the heads of lions, goats, and even of the god Baal. These were deposited in the treasury of the temple, an example followed by Joshua, who dedicated the spoils of Jericho, which consisted in gold and silver, and vessels of iron and brass.[73] It is very improbable that one people should have presented the products of another, and we are consequently justified in supposing that the whole tribute came from the Tahai or Dahæ.

In the next line (23) we have passed into another of the cattle tributes,—28 . . . . *calves*, 564 *bulls*, 5323 *goats*, 828 *jars of frankincense, and* . . . . . *measures of conserves of dates* (or *balsams*).

All these probably came from Ruten-nu, or, if not, from Arabia, whence the Arsai, near Yemen, sent

[73] Joshua vi. 24.

similar materials to Egypt.[74] Naharaina also supplied these conserves or balsams,[75] while horses (*h-tar*) and a species of goat or cattle came from Singara.[76] The text, unfortunately, continues in a state still more imperfect and obscure: line 24 is—

. . . *those of the lands which arrived supplied all other things—likewise horses, as it were their arm* [i. e. *branch*] *of the yearly tribute, together with works of the Remenen, as it were their branch of the yearly tribute, together with the elders* or *chiefs of the Remenen* . . . . . .

I cannot guarantee the entire translation of this line, which I am aware presents considerable difficulties. The question here is with respect to the Remenen, who have been supposed to be the Lemenen or Libanus, by Rosellini,[77] Sir Gardner Wilkinson,[78] and Dr. Hincks;[79] but the name of the nation in the conquests of Rameses III. at Medinat Haboo,[80] there written Lebanut, agrees more satisfactorily, not only with the Hebrew form, but also with the circumstance of the great campaigns of this monarch having been carried on in Palestine. Mr. Osburn has well corrected this reading to that of Hermon[81] in the campaigns of Sethos I., and supposed the people to be the Hermonites; but even this involves the prefix of an additional syllable. I had previously suggested Armenia,[82] supposing this to have been an

[74] Hincks, Trans. Brit. Arch. Assoc. p. 262; 'An Attempt,' &c., p. 45, No. 3, 1847; Select Papyri, Pl. XCVII. line 7.

[75] Select Papyri, Plate XCVI. 2, 4.

[76] Ibid. XCVIII. 2, 8, 9.

[77] M. St. Tav. XLVI.

[78] Manners and Customs, Ser. I. vol. i. pp. 386, 387.

[79] Trans. Roy. Irish Acad. 1847.

[80] Champollion, Mon. tom. iii. Plate CCIV.

[81] Testimony, p. 53.

[82] Birch, Gallery.

old name of the country; and it occurs as Armina[83] in the Persian cuneiform, and Harmini in the Chaldee.[84] The single scene in which these people are represented at Karnak has been successively published by Rosellini,[85] Sir Gardner Wilkinson,[86] and Mr. Osburn.[87] The first and last of these inquirers have given a translation of the accompanying text; but as it aids much in deciding the question, it will be as well to give it again. On the external wall of Karnak these scenes are thus arranged by Rosellini: Ruten—Remenen—[Mah]-anaim—Shasu in Pelusium, in his 1st year.

The order is here evidently inverted: the Ruten are the most north; the Shasu or Arabs in Pelusium the most south.

The king, Sethos I., has alighted from his chariot, and looks behind towards four Remenen who cut down trees, whilst two others supplicate at his feet. The entire upper half of the inscription is gone, and what remains is as follows:[88]

(1) . . . . . *Remenen hew* (2) . . . . *great boat on the river* (3) . . . . . *there, as was done by the* (4) *great brethren of Amen* (5) . . . *ruling it* . . . . . (6) . . . . *with life and power* . . . . . (7) [like] *the Sun always* . . . . (8) *lord of the upper and lower country, the strength of the born* (9) *Victorious over the bow lands* (10) *Seti, beloved of Phtah, living* . . . (11) *offered in his great victory,* (12) *powerful in his strength,* (13) *his* . . . . (14) . . . . . (15) . . . .

[83] Rawlinson, Journal of R. As. Society, vol. x. Part II. p. 128.
[84] Ibid. p. 58.
[85] M. R. Tav. XLVI.
[86] Manners and Customs, Ser. I. Pt. I. 387.
[87] Testimony, p. 50.
[88] Rosellini, M. R. Tav. XLVI.

day . . . . . (16) *. . he sees them . . . . . .* (17) *who is kind in his deeds* (18) *in the seats of Egypt,* (19) *guarding to fill the treasury* (20) [with] *the born . . . . . .*

The speech of the chiefs in this picture is as follows:

(1) *The great chiefs of the Remen* (2) *say in glorifying the lord of the world,* (3) *in magnifying his greatness,* (4) *thou appearest like thy father* (5) *Ra; thou hast lived with thy fame.*

Then follows the speech of the standard-bearer:

(1) *The speech of the standard-bearer on the left,* (2) *. . beloved of the good god, made like . . . .* (3) *the Horus who has given life to the upper and lower world,* (4) *a lord like Mentu over all lands;* (5) *behold the chiefs of the Ruten; thou hast struck terror in their limbs,* (6) *thou art called a lord.*

It is clear from this passage that the Ruten are probably not so near Egypt as has been conjectured; that they are connected with the Remen, of whose tributes, however, we find scarcely a further notice in this tablet.

The hiatus which separates this from the next line does not indeed admit of our supplying the wanting texts. Mr. Osburn has ingeniously conjectured that in the conquests of Sethos I., already described, they are felling wood for the purposes of ship-building on the river; but the text is too mutilated to render this certain, and no river of primary importance descends from the Hermon.

The next line, No. 25, is one of the most important in the whole tablet:

. . . of that land; then was a collection of all the things: those brought by the chief of Saenkar were [24] *ingots' weight of glass,* or *tin* (*?*) 24 *manufactured and* [24?] *ingots' weight of glass,* or *tin* (*?*) *of Bebel.*

The identity of Saenkar with Singara, *i. e.* in the sense of the plains of Shinar, first proposed by Rosellini, appears from its geographical position in the ethnographical tablet to be proved. Mr. Osburn suggests the Lower Sinim, but the Upper being never mentioned, renders it doubtful. The commencement of the name of Babel only exists in the Chevalier Lepsius's copy, but that of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, made before the removal of the tablet, gives the whole. The difficulty here is to know whether a metal or material, such as tin or glass, or a blue colour, is intended.

The city whose product the chief offered must be consequently בבל, Babel, or Babylon, *Βαβυλὼν*, the Bàbirush of the Persian cuneiform. There is some difficulty in deciding what is intended by the material *chesebt*, which is here mentioned as a substance which the chief of Saenkar brought in its rough state, as well as manufactured, and also a quantity from Bebel: it had been already mentioned in line 3, among the tributes of another people. Champollion fluctuates between the idea of porcelain[89] and electrum.[90] In the vases offered as tribute by the Asiatic people, gold, silver, copper, and an opaque glass, coloured with streaks, are generally represented. Either this, or the fact of finding it over some object coloured blue, induced Champollion to think it was porcelain. Calling this material *x*, let us examine the connection in which it is found, and the reasons that there are for considering it a metallic body.

On the return of Sethos I.,[91] in his first year, *is the escorting of the presents brought by his majesty when he returned from the wretched land of the Ruten,*

[89] 'Email, Gr. pp. 90, 520. [90] Dict. p. 389; Gr. 502.
[91] Rosellini, M. R. XLVIII. 1.

of silver, of gold, of x, of copper, and of all precious stones.

In the treasury of Rameses III. [so-called Miamun], at Medinat Haboo, which is the third hall to the left, are the following precious materials:

1000 sacks of gold.

Gold of Kash [Ethiopia].

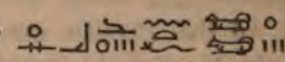
1000 sacks of gold of the waters.

1000 ingots of gold of Nubia.

Gold of the land of Teb.

Electrum [kasha[92]] of the divine land.

Electrum of P'hen-t [manufactured into vases and figures.]

x of *teveru* or *turur:*  (tin of Tyre?) On the wall[93] it is represented like metal in a pile of rectangular ingots, like other metals, and precedes copper.

In the Ritual[94] it occurs in the following passages: *that gate of Sesen-nu* [Esh-mun] *was made of bricks of . . . . . clouds painted with x* [*blue*], *under the legs of that god, created in the day of the king Men-ka-ra.*

In that part of the Ritual[95] which refers to the pregmaic and pantheistic type of Amen,

this is what is to be said over the figure of the god, raising his arm, with two plumes on his head, his legs opened [bowed], *his body* [in the form] *of a scarab, painted x* [*blue*] *on water* [back ground or tinted] *of electrum.*

It has been suggested by Dr. Hincks to me, that

[92] Probably the Coptic ⲔⲀϢⲀ—ⲂⲈⲖ. Cf. Tattam, Lex. Ling. Copt. *voce.*

[93] Champollion, Monumens, Texte, p. 364.

[94] Lepsius, Todt. Taf. xxv. c. 60, line 31.

[95] Ibid. LXXIX. 12.

chesebt is *κασσίτερος*, or tin; but this metal was hardly known at the period, and could not have been offered in the raw and manufactured state from the plain of Shinar: indeed it was too precious to be made into vases of any dimension. Babylon *might* have procured it indeed from the straits of Banca, but this is not very probable. The earlier spoils obtained by the Jews, as those of Jericho, consisted of gold and silver, vessels of iron and brass, which were put into the treasury of the Lord;[96] and the wealth which tempted Achib from the same spoils was a Babylonian garment, and a gold wedge of fifty shekels' weight.[97] Although Babylon seems to have been chiefly famous for her woollen goods, her tapestries, carpets, and linen,[98] yet the tribute from Mesopotamia was gold, silver, copper vases, and precious stones.

I will now pass to the next line, 26:

13 *purses' weight in that year, with vessels* [*of gold and silver*], *brought with* [*all the other good things*] *from that great land; eight rings of silver, making a weight of* 301 *ingots, white stone one great block, and taka-*[99] *wood* . . . . . .

The remainder of the tribute is unfortunately indistinct, but it probably came from the North, and from the Ruten.[100] In the Theban tomb, P'hen-t, Peti, and the Ruten, all brought woods, but the greatest quantity

[96] Joshua vi. 24. [97] Ibid. vii. 21, 24.

[98] Heeren Ideen. 2. Absch, 8vo, 1817, p. 131. Herod. i. 195. Joseph. in Apion, Opuscul. 1045.

[99] The same wood occurs in line 34.

[100] The metal hence seems to have been brought in those ring ingots which are represented at Beit el Weelly and elsewhere: they are called s-sh, and are distinct from the uten or *ingots*, which are called by Dr. Hincks (Trans. Roy. Irish Acad. 1847, p. 100) mna,—*weights, pounds*. Champollion, Dict. 411, calls them *rings*.

from Peti appears to have been ebony, or a black wood which is subsequently mentioned.

In the next line we again pass to the affairs of Central Asia; for, restore line 27,—

[*when he came, then his majesty erected a tablet in*] *Naharaina, to extend the frontiers of Kam* [Egypt]—*sledges of stone were brought to his majesty from the land of P'hen-t in that year*, 1685 *measures of pearls, gold . .*

There are two very distinct portions here. The replacing the tablet in Mesopotamia must have been on account of some political revolution, or still further extension of the empire: the next is the tribute from P'hun-t or P'hen-t. There is some difficulty about determining this people, and their direction. Champollion reads the name of this people as the Libyans,[101] in which he is followed by Rosellini. In the grand festival in honour of the god Kheb or Harsaphes, celebrated by Rameses III. [Miamun], at Medinat Haboo, the negroes of P'hen-t participate in the honours of the festival.[102] In the conquests of Sethos I., the P'hen-t are ranked amongst the northern enemies of Egypt, close to the Shasu.[103] Sir Gardner Wilkinson places them more south than the Ruten.[104] Mr. Osburn[105] considers them the people of Punon or Φένη, close to Mount Hor; but from the pictorial representation of this very tablet given by Mr. Hoskins[106] and Sir G. Wilkinson, it was evidently a country inhabited by a mixed population of red and black races. Yet the

[101] Lettres Ecrites.

[102] Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, Ser. II. Plate LXXVI. s. 14. The Shasu were most decidedly in Palestine.

[103] Rosellini, M. R. LXI.

[104] Manners and Customs, Ser. I. pp. 364, 374.

[105] Egypt, 8vo, London, 1846, pp. 82, 88; Onomasticon, p. 157.

[106] Æthiopia, 4to, London.

same name is undoubtedly mixed up with the Shasu and the Khita.[107] Their subjugation appears to have been commenced by Amenemha II. of the 12th dynasty,[108] and their name may contain the original element of *Φοῖν-ιξ* and Pœn-i, and represent, at the same time, a portion of the Philistim in Syria, and their settlements in the Marmorica among the black population of Libya. The stone they contributed was probably granite, for two obelisks of Syenitic, or rose granite, form a part of it in the tomb of the officer, and these are probably the very obelisks[109] subsequently erected at the gate of the granite sanctuary: the name of the stone which follows is *anam*, of which a basket and a tall conical heap are seen in the Theban tomb, coloured red or dusky brown: it is the Coptic ⲁⲛⲁⲙⲏϩ, and means gems, precious stones, generally,[110] and is by no means restricted to the sense of pearl,[111] which came into Egypt from the fisheries of the Red Sea, and would render it necessary to place P'hen-t to the east of Egypt. The following line (28) is a repetition of line 15, and, like that line, is so detached as not to be satisfactorily assignable to its proper nation. It reads—

. . . . 114 *calves*, 305 *bulls*, *in all* 419, [*coming in boats laden*] *with ivory*, *ebony*, *strong hair* or *hides of goats*, *and all other good things of that land.*

The Chev^r. Lepsius has restored doubtfully the first portion, and no reasonable doubt can be entertained of the cipher after bulls, nor after the totality, which,

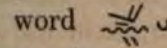
[107] Cf. Rosellini, M. R. LXI.

[108] Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, I. p. 45.

[109] As a praise of Rameses II. in the Sallier Papyrus, Select Papyr. Pl. XXV. last line, it is stated of him that he had brought obelisks from Elephantina.

[110] Peyron, Lex. Ling. Copt. p. 9.

[111] As conjectured by Champollion, Gr. p. 90.

throughout the inscription, as lines 11, 16, always is equal to the previous ciphers. I translate here the word  hebeni הבן haben, ebenum, by ebony. It occurs also in lines 36 and 43. The value assigned to the plough is *heb* [112] or *kheb* [113] to plough, this single symbol here representing that sound. Now at Beit el Weelly the people of Kash bring tusks of ivory and logs of ebony to Rameses II.; and in the Theban tomb the people of the southern Peti, or "bow lands," probably the Phutim, and the inhabitants of the happy West, or Euhesperides, bring ebony and ivory to the king. It may therefore be supposed that this part of the tablet refers to the Western tributaries of Egypt. Wool was used in Egypt for stuffing sandals, at least, if not for several other purposes.[114]

In the next line (29) is part of a similar inscription:

. . . [44 *calves*] 60 *bulls, in all* 104, *coming in the boats laden with every good thing in that land, measured on the spot in the same manner. In the* 34*th year, then his majesty was in the land of the Tahai* [*in his* 10*th expedition.*]

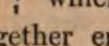
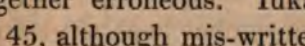
If this is connected with the following line, the events were of a military nature; for, line 30 is

. . . *fortresses captured* [*in that year*] *were* 2, *surrendered on the banks of the Iukasa* 1, *total* 3—*the captives brought by the* . . . . .

[112] Cf. Young, Hier. Pl. XLI. F.

[113] Cf. line 18, a variation of det for xeb, 'ploughing:' this word for ebony, with its full phonetic complement, is given in the tablet. Lepsius, Auswahl, Taf. IX.

[114] The excellence of the goats of this part of the world was well known. Cf. Theocr. Id. III. 5. Plin. VIII. c. 76. Yates, Text, Antiq. 8vo, London, 1843, pp. 132, 138.

The restoration of Chev^{r}. Lepsius in this passage is of a doubtful character; for "*in that land*" would be as good as in that year: cf. line 9, &c., and the part  which generally winds up the sentence, is altogether erroneous. Iukasa, which also occurs in line 45, although mis-written  for , in the final, I regard as the name of the Oxus or Ὦξυς, whose ancient aboriginal name was Khodsha,[115] although in the Hebrew, Gihon. Nor would there be any difficulty in a march to the Oxus. The revolt of the Bactrians is stated by Diodorus to have been the subject on the palace of Osymandyas, and the passage of Tacitus carries Rameses still further east. These *may* have been dreams; but as both wrote after the Alexandrian Greeks had studied the history of Egypt, it is more probable that they were true: nor do I see a greater difficulty than in the march of Cambyses to Ethiopia, in that of Darius to the Tanais, or in that of Alexander to the Indus. But once launched upon the Euphrates, a disciplined force must have been soon master of the plains of Central Asia.

In the next line (31) is part of a tribute formula, *. . . with their children . . . . .* 40 [*horses*], 15 *chariots worked with gold and silver, gold vessels, gold in rings, weighing* 50 *ingots*, 8 *purses, gold vases of that land, together with rings*, 173 *ingots' weight*, [*. . bricks of*] *iron.*

[115] Ritter, Erdkunde, ii. p. 512: the word גיחון means "the river," (Reland, de Situ, s. 16, p. 32,) and is found prefixed to the names of the Araxes, the Ganges, the Wolga, and foreign rivers; although, when put alone, designating "the river" (Oxus). Rosenmuller, Bibl. Geog. Central Asia, i. p. 66. As it is unaccompanied by the determinatives of river, it probably means the Oxiana, or region of the Oxus; but the determinative, as in Naharaina, cf. lines 18, 27, 61, may have been omitted. Iukasa is one of the mystical names of Amen.—Lepsius, Todt. LXXIX. c. 165, line 1.

This tribute probably came from the Ruten-nu, if the Chevalier Lepsius's restoration of the horses is correct, cf. line 32; but there is some ambiguity about the other part of this inscription: the terms *uten* and *as* seem to imply weight, the one of a greater weight and the other its sub-multiple; yet as the gold is always offered in the pictures in four forms—1, as elegant vases, or ornaments; 2, as rectangular ingots; 3, as circular rings; 4, as small bags or purses—it is possible that these four conditions are mentioned; and if we must suppose a weight, the uten [*mna* of Dr. Hincks] will be the greater or "ingot's weight;" the *as*, the "purse's weight," as its subdivision; and as no higher number than thirteen parts are mentioned, probably in a double decimal system.

The subsequent line (32) not improbably contained the rest of the tribute,—

. . . wood, kam-wood, ses-wood . . . . . together with 6 poles . . . . of a . . . [pavilion?] . . . decorated with brass, filled in with stones, along with all the good things of that land. Now the tribute of Ruten in that year was . . . brood mares.

In the Theban tomb are the Ruten bringing choice and rare woods. Kam or black wood might be supposed to be ebony, if it had not been mentioned under its proper name, *hebin*: it might be intended for ⲕⲁⲙⲓ reeds, for the Ruten offer elegantly made mats, and the bamboo might have been classed as a reed by the Egyptians; or, we may suppose it to be *gum*-wood, the גומא goma of the Talmud, the *κομμὶ* of the Greeks, the gummus of the Romans, and ⲕⲟⲙⲓ of the Copts, (Peyr. Lex. Ling. Copt. p. 67.) *Ses* might also be ⲥⲁⲥⲉ (tow), the coarse stalk of flax, or even the celebrated sesamum; but the determinative pod has been

said to be that of an acacia, although it more resembles that of a bean. I must confess I do not know what particular plant is meant. I will now pass to the next line (33)—

. . . *of the work of the country . . . ingots* [6 *purses' weight*], ... *all gems, vases* [*of lead*] *and iron, and* 80 *bricks of iron in its earth* [i.e. *iron ore*], 11 *bricks of lead*, 12 *ingots* [*pounds*] *of paint, gems, green felspar, emeralds* (*?*) . . . . . .

Although the name of the people is here wanting, yet by comparing this part of the inscription with the Theban tomb, where the last materials are seen offered by the chiefs of the Southern Peti or Libya, it is evident that these substances came from hence; and there is a basket of a green material called sesem.

In the next line (34) is—

2080 *jars of conserve of dates* [*balsams ?*], 508 *measures of wine, taka or tamka-wood, chariots, ses-wood, kenku-t-wood, with all the excellent wood of that land. Then all the lands came to his majesty, offering all other good things for his majesty to receive* . . . . .

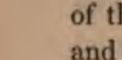
The tribute here is apparently from the Ruten, who are represented bringing valuable wood: *taka* might be the *guiacum*, which we know the Egyptians used, and the *kenku-t* may then be a species of the KENTE or fig-tree,—if these words are not names of some wooden furniture or implements.

In the 35th line is—

. . . *all the chief woods in logs* (*?*) *to his majesty. The tribute of the chief of the Asi in that year was* 108 *bricks of iron*, 2080 *ingots of pitch*, 5 *bricks of lead*, 1200 *lumps* (*?*) *of lead*, 110 *ingots' weight of glass* [*tin ?*], 1 *tusk of ivory* . . . . . .

The commencement of the inscription undoubtedly

refers to the Ruten, or a cognate people. The Asi seem to have been an important people for their mineral wealth: besides lead, there is a variety of this metal called *tahti-nens*, perhaps an ore.

It is to be observed, that the expression which I believe to be "ingots" is never attached to iron or lead in this inscription; but that these metals are always reckoned by bricks, or pigs, as we call them, which is a strong presumption that the group for gold does not merely apply to weight but also to shape. The material *seft* I supposed to be pitch, the Coptic ⲥⲓⲫⲓ[116] or ⲥⲓϥⲓ and the Hebrew זפת zefeth; for the same substance is called  on the alabaster palettes or slabs of the 12th dynasty, with a vase for its determinative; and on a rectangular sarcophagus in the British Museum it has the calathus vase, which appears determinative of objects of a piceous or oily nature. As, however, it is here reckoned by ingots or pigs, and not by vases, it is evident that the pitch was solid, not liquid, consequently petroleum or bitumen. This tribute might have come from Mesopotamia, where iron and lead abounded.[117] These people, Asi, are also known from other monuments, for they were vanquished subsequently by Seti I., and in the order after Kanana or Canaan, and before Mennus.[118] They may be the Is or His of Herodotus, the modern Hit,[119] whence the mineral pitch came; although it

[116] Peyron, Lex. Ling. Copt. p. 194.

[117] Cf. Herod. i. 186, Diod. ii. 8, Curt. v. 4, for the iron and lead cramps by which the great bridge of the Euphrates was held together; also the plating of the gates. Abydenus in Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 41.

[118] Rosellini, M. R. lxi. tom. iii. Parte i. p. 420.

[119] Rosenmuller, Bibl. Geog. Central Asia, vol. ii. p. 60.

was no doubt also supplied from the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea.

Continuing the inscription of the tablet (in line 36), *total* 64: 105 *bulls*, 170 *calves*, *total* 275, *coming in boats laden with ivory and ebony, and all the true things of that land; the quota of Kash in the same manner. The tribute of the Vavat was . . . gold ingots . . . .*

It is evident that the preceding portion of this line refers to the tribute rendered by Kash or Ethiopia, which at Beit el Weelly is paid to Rameses II. in cattle, ivory, and ebony; which wood they must have procured in commerce from India. The tribute here seems prescriptive, and indicates the permanent hold which the Pharaohs had obtained over the soil. The term Kash is a fluctuating and uncertain territorial appellation: it is supposed to be the Kush of Scripture, the ϭⲱϣ or ⲉϭⲱϣ of the Copts, which, after all, is merely "the frontier." It follows always after the grand territorial divisions of the South; but the term Peti or Phuti for the present Nubia is found on the monuments, is found up to the second cataract from whence *Kash* or Ethiopia apparently commenced; and it is to be observed that the name of none of the great localities where the Pharaohs subsequently placed the temples of their deities is found amongst the conquered nations, which seems to prove an early military occupation of the country. In the next line (37)—[*together with*] *all the other good things of that land, measured by the Vavat in the same manner. In the thirty-fifth year, then his majesty was in the land of the Tahai in his tenth expedition, and his majesty approached the fortress of Aruana. Then was the assembly of the wretched fallen . . . . .*

The Vavat, as a distant Ethiopian people, have

already occurred, and been explained in the consideration of this tablet; the only question is about the *Aruana*.[120] Although not precisely the same, it closely resembles the names of the fortresses of the Khita, recorded in the treaty of Rameses II. with that people; and the Tahai, as we have already seen, were placed in that direction.

The next line (38) is much mutilated, and its sense obscure,—

. . of the disturbers of the world, their infinite number . . went along to fight with his majesty . . . . . the stand of the T[ahennu], ... his majesty with them; the stand made by the troops of his majesty every time of reconnoitring; the bringing of the convoy by his majesty (?) with the time of . . . . . ?

This appears to refer to a march, but I candidly confess I am not certain of the translation here, neither do I know of a similar text to compare it with: the only restoration I have here made is the Tahennu, a people certainly not otherwise mentioned in the tablet, but yet known as early as the 12th dynasty, and with whom the Egyptian monarch might have come in contact. We hence pass, however, to events probably connected with the same part of the history (l. 39) *of Naharaina . . . each of them was about to fall down prostrate one after another (?) before his majesty, with the other prisoners led by his majesty himself from the land of Tatanen (?), the chiefs of Naharaina.*

The sense of this seems to have run on to the next line, which continues to refer to the same event; but here are the tributes (line 40),—

. . . two fighting [cuirasses] . . . ingots' weight of brass,

[120] It might be the Aloni, who were placed at the confluence of the Zabatus and Tigris.

and other captured things brought by the troops of his majesty from . . . , 10 chiefs as prisoners, 180 horses, and 60 chariots . . . . .

Comparing this line with 41, it would appear that the two fighting objects were called *mes;* they are not improbably the cuirass. Chariots, or harness and horses, in the tomb so often cited already, came from the North.

In the following line (41) we have—

15 fighting helmets (?),[121] *. . breast-plates, 5 . . brass . . . . welded with iron for the head, 5 wooden bows of the Kharu, and girdles (?) made of . . . . . .*

It is interesting here to find the Kharu, or, as I believe, the people of Syria, mentioned, as well as to perceive that they were distinguished for the excellence of their bow-making. They are different from the Taru or Tyrians.[122] The king does not appear to have conquered them, but only to have received their bows apparently from another people.[123] Seti I., on the contrary, was actively employed with them.

[121] There is some difficulty in knowing what the objects mentioned in this line are: the *khener* or *khenel* are mentioned in the Anastasi Papyrus, No. 1, Select Papyri LXII. lines 1 & 2, where the person speaking says, "*I address my father, who has given orders millions of times; I have addressed those who bear khener (helmets of leather?) on the heads.*" In another part of the same papyrus, the writer says, "*Thy arm of the asbta (cuirass?) and thy khener (helmet) were cut in the darkness,*" in an adventure, in which the chariot (?) and horse are also mentioned (Ibid. LIX. line 8, p. 143). It would appear from these passages that a kind of helmet must be intended.

[122] Cf. Select Papyri, Pl. LV. 1. Anastasi, i. p. 21. Dr. Hincks, Transactions of British Archæological Association, 8vo, London, 1846, p. 254.

[123] Although the vines of the Kharu are recorded, (Select Papyri, Pl. XCVII. line 1, and Hincks, p. 262,) I cannot regard it as Chalybon or Helbon; for the fact of a galley passing between Egypt and Kharu

In the next line (42)—

. . . 246 . . . 1 *chariot worked with gold, and* 20 *chariots worked with silver and gold.*

What the three substances mentioned at the commencement of this line are, I do not know ; they are all mineral, and are called *kar* or *kal*, *tata*, *abh-ti*; *mestem*[124] is perhaps stibium : the chariots came from the northwards. From hence, the next line (43)—

. . . *with ebony, and ivory, and all the good and true things of that land, together with the quota* [*of the Kash in the same manner; the tributes brought by the chiefs of the . . . . . were*] 21 *vases of frankincense*, 989 *jars of conserve of dates* or *balsams.*

This line is in a very mutilated condition, and the restoration of the Chevalier Lepsius requires correction. The end of the former line undoubtedly was such a *quantity of cattle, coming with the boats laden with ebony and ivory, &c.* This ebony and ivory must have come from the S. Peti, or from Ethiopia. I restore Kash, which after all must have been comprised in the previous geographical name. The ciphers here are imperfect; 21 is only part of a much larger number : neither is there any means of judging from whom the frankincense and conserves came, probably from a Syrian or Arabian people. In all cases the name of this people has disappeared from the tablet in the tomb : frankincense and bitumen come from the Ruten. This expression, according to the quota, is the

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(Hincks, p. 257, 258, and Papyrus Anastasi, iv. p. 3, Select Papyri, Pl. LXXXIV.), shows that Kharu was some part of the Syrian coast, and possibly of the Tyrian dominion, as conjectured by Mr. Osburn, Egypt, Testimony, p. 78.

[124] Rosellini, M. R. Tav. XXIX. Cf. Lepsius, Todt. LXI. 1449, 30. Mestem-en-ha is joined to perfume.

indicta gentibus tributa, to which I shall subsequently refer.

Line 44.—*in his thirteenth powerful expedition, then his majesty was molesting* [*the land of the Tahai*] . . . *the carved* [*vessels of that land.*]

This was, undoubtedly, preceding his 37th year, and is the last date which occurs on the tablet; and the tribute seems to have been from the Tahai, who continue to be subsequently mentioned.

Line 45.—*of wood by the inch, the cubit, and the ell—hostages from the banks of the Iukasa* . . . . . .

This shows that these people, probably of the Oxus, as has already been stated, contributed wood for their tribute.

Line 46.—3 *heads of goats,* 1 *lion's head, vases, all kinds of work from the Tahai.*

The heads of lions and of goats may either refer to the actual gold and silver heads of these animals, which are represented as offered by the people of Kefa,[125] in the tomb of the masters of the ceremonies, so often cited, or else to vases decorated with these heads; and similar objects are offered in the reign of Thothmes III. by the people of Naharaina or of Mesopotamia. It is, perhaps, more probable that this portion of the tribute came from the Kfa.

Line 47.—5 *tusks of ivory and offerings(?) of ivory and of sess-wood,* 68 *ingots' weight of* . . . . . .

There is no clue as to where this came from, except it is from the Ruten, among whose offerings a material with the same name of *men*, or *menkh*, wrapped up in reeds or parcels like mats, is seen.

That the political interest still continued north, is evident from the subsequent line (49)—

[125] Wilkinson, *loc. cit.* Pl. IV.; Hoskins's Æthiopia, *loc. cit.*

Line 48.—*according to the measure of Tahai, with bushels of corn* [. . . . *jars*] *of frankincense* . . . .

Line 49.—240 *measures of gems,*[126] . . . . *work of wretched Kash,* 100 *ingots' weight of gold* . . . . .

These must have come either from Libya or the South. The Ethiopians could have easily procured pearls from the great fisheries of the Red Sea; and the abundance of its gold is mentioned in the dim accounts of the interior of Africa which have reached us through the credulous and uncritical Greek historians. Engraved stones, according to Æschines[127] in his Erycia, circulated among the Ethiopians instead of money; and these people enjoyed among the Greeks a spurious reputation for what was probably nothing more than the extraction of these valuable stones from the mines of the interior.

Line 50.—16 *prisoners,* 77 *cows and calves, approaching in the boats* [*laden with ivory and ebony, and all the good things of that land.*]

This has undoubtedly reference to the same Kash or Ethiopia.

Line 51.—229 *horses,* 2 *fly-flaps, with* 1 *gold ring*[128] *of* 12 *ingots' weight.*

These, for reasons already developed, must have come from the Ruten-nu.

Line 52.—*white calcareous stone, white men* [stone], *natron, brown stone, all which are of that land.*

These should, apparently, come from the P'hen-t or Libya, in which direction the nation principally lay.

[126] Cf. Champ. Gr. Eg. p. 87, who translates the measure 'ounces of pearls.'

[127] Grotefend, in the Num. Chron. vol. i. p. 243.

[128] Cf. this part of the inscription with the *tet, flabella,* presented by Thothmes III. Champ. Mon. cccxvi. cccxvii.

Line 53.—*ses-wood of that land, with all the good and true things of that land; then all approached proffering* . . . . .

Line 54.—*of the Tahai, with each of the measures of frankincense and conserves* . . . . . .

Here we may probably restore,—

[*with vases of silver and gold, of the fabric*] *of the Tahai.*

This ends the whole of the continuous portion of the tablet; but there are a few more lines given, both in the copy of Sir Gardner Wilkinson and that of the Chevalier Lepsius: they probably formed part of the broken portion on the left hand. As they stand at present, it is impossible to restore them satisfactorily; all that can be done is to translate them, for the objects specified formed an important item in the statistics.

Line 55.—326 *calves*, 40 (*mahet*) *large white antelopes and* . . . *gazelles* . . . (probably from Libya.)

Line 56.—30 *chariots worked with gold and silver, with painted poles* . . . . . *pure men* [*slaves*] . . . .

This from Naharaina, and probably referable to one of the tributes thence.

Line 57.—. . . *bulls*, 13 *calves*, 530 *bulls*, 84 *asses*, *brass* (*?*) . . . .

Here, again, probably from the east of Egypt. The tribute of asses is significant: most of the neighbouring countries used them for riding, and the Egyptians for sutlers of their camp, and agricultural purposes.

Line 58.—*of the Tahai making to fly the* . . . . . .

Line 59.—2[129] . . . . *worked by the wretched Kash, and above* 300 *ingots* (imperfect cipher) *of gold* . . . .

[129] I am uncertain what the word *mashu* means; it occurs in connection with corn in the Ritual, Lepsius. Todt. Taf. XXXIX. c. 109,

Line 60.—254 . . . . 10 *prisoners, pure men and pure women, cows, calves* . . . . . .

Line 61.—*Naharaina, horses and men, pure men* . .

It is to be observed that the horses here are called h-tar, and not sesem, as from the Ruten.

Line 62.—*the prisoners* [led by] *the spirits of his majesty* . . . . .

Thus closes, unfortunately, one of the most important documents for the history of Central Asia. What additional importance it would have possessed had it been perfect, and revealed more fully the extent of the victories of Egypt!

There can be no doubt that this, or a similar inscription, was the identical one translated by the Egyptian priests to Germanicus, on the occasion of his visit to Thebes. Tacitus says,[130]—"Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia, et manebant structis molibus literæ Ægyptiæ priscam opulentiam complexæ: jussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat, habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari: atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsem Libya, Æthiopia, Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scytha potitum; quasque terras Syri Armeniique, et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. *Legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque, et dona templis, ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti, et omnium utensilium quæque natio penderet*, haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur."

The latter part of this inscription so exactly coincides

line 5, and is said to be 4 cubits in length. Dr. Hincks has suggested to me that it means *waggons*.

[130] Annal. II. 60, 4.

with the language of the tablet, that it appears almost certain that this was the identical tablet read to Germanicus; and the difference of the name of the two monarchs may be thus explained. Arrived at the first propylon of Karnak, the exploits of Rameses II. would be explained to Germanicus, as they form the sculptures represented on that part of the edifice: when he reached the granite sanctuary, the tributes brought to Thothmes III. would be detailed to him; and the historian, already familiar with the name of the first monarch, might not have been careful enough to discriminate between his exploits and those of the second. Some instances of similar tributes are known. In the grand festival given by Ptolemy Philadelphus[131] to the Alexandrians, the Ethiopians brought 600 tusks of elephants, 2000 logs of ebony, vessels of gold and silver containing the finest gold, 2400 dogs, men bearing trees, various animals, birds, and beasts, parroquets and other birds from Ethiopia, in cages, 130 sheep, 300 Arabian sheep, 20 from the island of Nubia (Argo), 26 buffaloes white as snow, 8 from Ethiopia, 3 brown bears, 1 white one, 14 leopards, 16 panthers, 4 lynxes, 1 giraffe, 1 rhinoceros. In the account of these people, given in Scylax, they are described as selling the skins of stags, teeth of elephants, droves of domestic animals, richest furniture, bottles of ivory; and on the occasion of the queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon, that queen brought him 120 talents of gold, besides quantities of spices and incense. One, perhaps, of the most remarkable tributes is that mentioned by Julius Valerius, a writer of the fourth century, in his Life of Alexander the Great, as given by the Ethiopian queen, Candace, to that monarch. It

[131] Athen. lib. v.

much resembles, indeed, similar letters written by the Roman emperors to their prætors in Gaul, but yet may be considered to embody the opinions or knowledge of the Romans respecting the products of Ethiopia. In her letter to Alexander,[132] the queen says,—"You will therefore have, as a proof of our friendship, 100 of the largest sized bricks of gold, 5 Ethiopian youths, 6 parrots, 6 phryges, and, beside these, a crown for our god Amon, very precious for its emeralds, pearls, and workmanship: added to these, 10 chests full of all kinds of pearls and gems, and 80 more chests of ivory, have I sent along with them, for your use and pleasure, as well as all kinds of animals of our country, —350 elephants, 6 pards, 80 rhinoceroses, 4 panthers, 90 dogs which hunt men, 300 bulls, and 1500 logs of ebony, which I will send as soon as you order them to be transmitted."

The value of this tablet, for the development of the history of Central Asia, is very great. Egypt was in her zenith; the tribute she then received was of immense value, and her empire was in contact with the great Assyrian monarchy,—a point of considerable interest in an historical view, as the recent

[132] Cf. Mai. Classic. Vet. 8vo, Romæ, t. vii. 1835, p. 195–200. "Habebis ergo, tibi ex nobis amicitiæ argumentum, centum laterculos auri grandissimos, Æthiopas impubes quinque, psittacos sex, phrygasque sex, præterque hæc, Hammoni deo nostro coronam, smaragdis, ac margaritis, etiam toreumatis, pretiosiorem. His et loculos refertissimos cujuscunque margaritarum, atque gemmarum ad decem numerum, eburneosque alios loculos octoginta, unà misi usibus et deliciis tuis: ferarumque genera quæ sunt nostratia, elephantos trecentos quinquaginta, pardos sex, rhinocerotas octoginta, pantheras vero quatuor, canes etiam in homines efferacissimos nonaginta, tauros trecentos, virgas hebeni mille atque quingentas, quæ cum primùm auferendum jusseris transmittentur.

discoveries of Mr. Layard are said to have brought to light cartouches of Egyptian monarchs discovered at Nineveh. Nor did the immediate successors of the great Thothmes lose at once the superiority which they had acquired. Under Thothmes IV.[133] the chiefs of Naharaina appear in the most submissive manner before the king, and pray that they may receive the breath of life; while it is evident from the tomb of the officer in which they are found, that the military power of the empire was maintained in all its vigour. Under Amenophis II., we find an officer named Amenhept, entitled the royal attendant on the footsteps of his majesty in the North and South, who has gone from Mesopotamia[134] to the Kalaa or Gallas (?) at the side of his majesty; an officer in the Tourah quarries records that he set up tablets in Mesopotamia;[135] and Amenophis III., in the temple which he built at Soleb, did not fail to record his triumphs over Mesopotamia and Singara. Between this period and Sethos I. there is a blank which must be filled up by the hypothesis that Egypt lost her conquests; for Sethos I., in his first year, has to expel the Shos or Shepherds from Pelusium. He, however, a second time "extended his victories to the tips of the world, his seats to Mesopotamia:" but the conquest was ephemeral; for although Rameses II. probably went still farther north, the third Rameses was engaged with the frontier people of the coasts of Syria, the Philistines, who seem in the interval to have risen into power.

[133] Champ. Mon. tom. ii. Plate CLX.

[134] Hincks, Trans. Royal Irish Academy, vol. xix. Part VI. 4to, Dublin, p. 12.

[135] Vyse, Journal, 8vo, Lond. 1842—Tourah Quarries, Plate II.

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